A BRIEF VIEW OF THE MISTAKES ABOUT HAPPINESS, OR, THE *Chief Good of Man*;

With proper

Directions and *Redreſſes*

(Several of which are from *unuſual Topicks*)

For the effectual

Preventing or Curing thoſe Miſtakes.

IN

ANSWER to this QUERY,

Propounded by a ſerious Gentleman,

[*Whether true and real Happineſs is to be found in any of the Acquiſitions of this World?*]

By *JOHN EDWARDS*, D. D.

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THE EPISTLE TO MY Honoured Friend *Philagathus Philalethes.*

WHEN you were pleaſed to engage me to ſay ſomething on this Head, The Miſtakes about Happineſs, *I moſt readily applied my ſelf to that Work; and having now in ſome Meaſure finiſhed it, I offer it to you, not as if I thought you needed it, but purely as a Teſtimony of my Obedience. You are acquainted with Books, and the beſt of Writings; yea, you have read the World and Men. And you have been a careful and judicious Obſerver of the ſeveral Tranſactions of this Age, and in the moſt ruffled Scenes of Affairs, you have ſtood the Shock. You therefore are the ableſt Perſon to judge of the Queſtion you propounded, and to give a true*

and ſatisfactory Solution of it. But yet ſuch is your Diffidence of your own Judgment, that you are pleaſed to put the Task upon me ; which I ſubmit to, not only upon the Principle before mentioned, that I may not be thought Undutiful, but becauſe I ſhall have this Advantage by my Performance, that it will be corrected by you where it is Faulty, and ſo my cenſuring the Miſtakes *of others, will occaſion the Acknowledging of my own, which I freely confeſs to be many.*

I grant that the Theme *I have choſen to handle is common and ordinary; but it is equally true, that it is of as great* Conſequence *and* Importance *as any that can be treated of: And I have endeavour'd to embelliſh it with ſome Thoughts that are uncommon. Yet, Sir, you have given me leave in this Diſcourſe to interſperſe ſeveral Hints of* Hiſtory *which are* vulgar *and* well known, *and ſeem to be below the Notice of the Learned. Such was your generous Compliance and Condeſcention, in order to the rendring this Undertaking the more Uſeful and Univerſal, and that* every Reader *may reap ſome Benefit and Advantage by it.*

And I flatter my ſelf that this will be the Effect of my preſent Performance, becauſe it comes abroad under your Protection. *The* noble Endowments *for which you are Eminent, and which render your* Name *ſo Illuſtrious, that is, the ſincere* Love of Goodneſs and Truth, *are Charms ſufficient to make any Enterprize* acceptable *that appears under your Patronage.* I am, Sir,

Your humbleſt Servant,

John Edwards.

A

SCHEME

Of the whole enſuing

DISCOURSE.

HAppineſs, or the *chief Good* of Man, conſiſts not,

I. In *Opulency* and *Abundance*; becauſe, 1. There is no real Satisfaction and Complacency in them. 2. They are for others rather than for our ſelves. 3. Sometimes they are not enjoyed by the Poſſeſſors of them. 4. They are but Comparative. 5. They are Inſtruments of Vice. 6. They are the Portion of the worſt Men. 7. They are Uncertain and Fading.

II. In *Bodily Pleaſure*; becauſe, 1. This belongs to the worſer Part of Man. 2. It is the

the Happineſs of Brutes. 3. It debauches and corrupts the Mind. 4. A great Part of it is imaginary. 5. It is ſhort and tranſient. 6. It is tireſome.

III. In *Fame* and *Honour*; becauſe, 1. Theſe are Changeable and Uncertain: Which is ſhewed in ſeveral remarkable Inſtances. 2. They are in their own Nature mean; becauſe, *Firſt*, They have no real Excellency to commend them: *Secondly*, They depend on Fancy: *Thirdly*, They alter according to the diverſity of Countries: *Fourthly*, They are oftentimes Caſual and Accidental. 3. They may be acquired by ill Means. 4. The greedy Deſire of them is an Argument of a baſe and low Spirit. 5. They create Trouble and Uneaſineſs. 6. They are attended with very ill Effects and Conſequences. 7. They are the Attainment of the Vicious.

IV. In *high Birth* or *Nobility*; becauſe, 1. All Perſons are alike as to their firſt Extraction. 2. There is no true Worth in the Enſigns of Nobility. 3. They are not properly their own. 4. They are obſcured and even effaced by baſe Actions. 5. Meanneſs of Birth is no Unhappineſs. 6. Virtue is the true Nobility.

V. In *Bodily Health*; becauſe, 1. Sickneſs renders no Man Unhappy. 2. The moſt Hale Temper of Body is worſt for the Soul. 3. It ſoon decays. 4. It is the Attainment of the inferior Part of Man.

VI.

VI. In *Strength of Body*; becauſe, 1. It is common to bad Men. 2. To Beaſts. 3. It decays in a ſhort Time.

VII. In *Beauty*; becauſe, 1. It is beholding to Fancy. 2. There is no ſuch thing as compleat Beauty. 3. It is owing to Art. 4. 'Tis eaſily ruin'd. 5. It is beſtowed on the worſt Perſons. 6. It is a great Snare. 7. Deformity is no Unhappineſs. 8. A virtuous Mind is the true Pulchritude.

VIII. In *Humane Learning*; becauſe, 1. One may be devoid of this, and yet be a very good Man. 2. One may be a very bad Man, and yet arrive to the higheſt Degree of this Attainment. 3. It is liable to be loſt.

A

VIEW

OF THE

Miſtakes *about* Happineſs *or the* Chief Good *of Man*, &c.

WITHOUT ſo much as gratifying the World with a *Preface*, which is one of the *little Happineſſes* of a Formal Reader, and one of the *greateſt Vanities* of ſome Authors, I will directly enter upon the Task which my *Serious Friend* hath impoſed upon me, namely, to take notice of the erroneous Notions which Men have commonly entertain'd about *Happineſs*, and to ſhew that this is falſely placed by them in any of the Things of this World. Both the Covetous and the Prodigal (tho' of contrary Diſpoſitions) agree in thinking that it conſiſts in *Riches* and a *Plentiful Fortune*, as they call it; The Wanton and Luxurious, in *Pleaſure*; The Ambitious, in *Honour* and *Preferment*. Others think too highly of *Noble*

Birth and *Parentage*. Some exceſſively value *Bodily Health*, or *Strength*, or *Beauty*. Laſtly, the Studious and Contemplative cry up *Knowledge* and *Arts*. Some, or all of theſe deſirable Enjoyments paſs for the *Chief Good* among Men. Wherefore I ſhall make it my Buſineſs to undeceive ſuch Perſons, and to ſhew that theſe are Shadows and falſe Reſemblances of Happineſs, and that thoſe who are of another Opinion are got into a wrong Way of Thinking. This is the very Deſign of *Solomon*'s Book, which is entituled *Eccleſiaſtes*, by enumerating the ſeveral Enjoyments and Entertainments of this Life, and ſhewing their Inſufficiency to make any Man Happy. This is the Reſult of what he had determined after a long Experience and Obſervation of all thoſe Things which Men place their Happineſs in. After a narrow Search, and exact Trial, he proclaims them to be *Vanity*. I will therefore proceed to conſider every one of them particularly and diſtinctly.

I.

Happineſs conſiſts not in *Wealth* and *Opulency*, that is, in Lands and Poſſeſſions, in great Incomes and Worldly Abundance of all Things, as they are reckon'd up in *Eccleſ.* ii. 7, 8, 9. vi. 2. Theſe are not the true Happineſs of Man, becauſe,

1. There is no true and real *Satisfaction* in them. This is the Determination of that great Experimenter of this World's Vanity, *Eccleſ.* v. 10. *He that loveth Silver, ſhall not be ſatisfied with Silver; nor he that loveth Abundance, with Increaſe.* The capacious Soul is ſtill empty, and cries, Give, Give, even when 'tis gorged and ſtuff'd, when 'tis glutted and cramb'd, 'tis next to ſtarving. It is Empty when it ſeems to be Repleniſh'd. Nothing which this ſenſual World can ſet before it, is able to ſtint its craving Appetite. Nothing can allay its extravagant and vaſt Deſires. What is ſaid of the *wicked Man* (in *Job* xx. 22.) may

may be applied to every Son of Man in his Purſuits of this World, *In the Fulneſs of his Sufficiency he ſhall be in Straits.* Even when he imagines that he is in the moſt probable Way of ſatisfying and pleaſing himſelf, he meets with the greateſt Diſſatisfaction. An unſatiable Greedineſs doth generally attend the Affluence of this World's Goods. The Man, like the *Behemoth*, drinks up Rivers, and calls for more. And this muſt needs be ſo, if we conſider the Nature and Make of our Souls, for they being Intelligent and Rational Beings, it is impoſſible that the Objects which this World affords ſhould content and ſatisfie them, they being of a ſpiritual Nature. Another Reaſon of this *Diſſatisfaction* is, that great Riches are naturally accompanied with Anxiety and Sollicitude, with Cares and Fears; which likewiſe was the Obſervation of the Wiſe Man, and whence he argues the World's Vanity. *The Abundance of the Rich will not ſuffer him* (that is, the Owner of it) *to ſleep*, Eccleſ. v. 12. to enjoy his Eaſe and Reſt. For his Mind is taken up with the buſie Contrivances of improving his Revenues, and making Additions to them; and at the ſame time is poſſeſs'd with Fears and Apprehenſions of Miſmanagement on his Part, and the injurious Dealing of others, and conſequently of running the Riſque of loſing what he hath got. Yea proportionably to the Increaſe of his Wealth, the Diſtraction of his Thoughts increaſes, and his Mind grows leſs quiet and compoſed. Whence I conclude that there is no *Satisfaction* in the Fruition of this World's Goods; and from this I make an other Concluſion, that this is not our *Happineſs*; for what doth not ſatisfie us, cannot be ſo.

2. This is to be remember'd, that great Incomes are rather for *others* than for our ſelves. This is another Obſervation of the Wiſe Man, and on which he founds the Doctrine of the Va-

nity of all ſublunary Enjoyments, *Eccleſ.* ii. 11. *When Goods increaſe, they are increaſed that eat them.* Generally, as a Man's Revenues are augmented, ſo is his Family, and conſequently his Charges. His Servants and Retinue are multiplied, who conſume a great Part of his Wealth: So that *they* have the Benefit of his Eſtate, *they* poſſeſs and uſe it, equally with himſelf: Yea, ſometimes they have the greateſt Share of it. Wherefore it follows in the forecited Place, *What good is there to the Owners thereof, ſaving the beholding them with their Eyes?* The Maſter and Proprietor of theſe Poſſeſſions, and this Wealth, hath only this Pleaſure (if it may be called ſo) ſaith *Solomon*, to ſee his Goods and Revenues waſted, to behold a great many Attendants maintain'd at his Expences, to reflect that he hath been at ſome Pains and Trouble to make Proviſion for others. If this *were* a Happineſs, it could not be call'd a Man's *Own*, but rather Another's.

And as for External Shew and Greatneſs, this is ſuch a Happineſs as depends on the *Spectators*: For if there were none to ſee it, it would vaniſh, as a choice * Moraliſt long ſince obſerv'd; without Witneſſes and Beholders it is Null. If it be hid, it is no Happineſs. When a Rich Man is alone, his Gay Furniture, his rich Beds, his coſtly Hangings, his ponderous Plate, his golden Cups, his rich Habits, his numerous Train, Equipage, and Accoutrements ſignifie nothing; for there is no Body to admire them, or Him for them; who then would ſpeak ſo improperly as to call this *Happineſs?*

3. There is another *Vanity* which *Solomon* often takes notice of in this World's Riches. There is

* Τοιαύτην ὁ πλεῖστος εὐδαιμονίαν ἔχει θεατῶν καὶ περιόντων, ἢ τὸ μηδὲν ἔσαν. Plut. περὶ φιλοπλουτίας.

is a *Man* (ſaith he) *to whom Riches and Wealth are given, but he hath not Power to eat thereof.* i. e. to have a comfortable Fruition of them; and yet he feeds himſelf with the Fancy of being of the Number of thoſe who have a plentiful Fortune in the World. But what Perſon of correct Thought can imagine, that he who is extremely covetous, and lays up great Stores of Wealth, but enjoys nothing of them, is rich? It is true, the avaricious Wretch thinks himſelf ſo: But this is not a Reality, but a Dream. Immenſe Poſſeſſions are not Riches, but ſo much only as is requiſite to be decently uſed, as an Excellent * Perſon hath obſerv'd. For the Hoarder's Gold might as well be in the Mines, as in his Coffers, ſeeing it is in both uſeleſs. To ſpeak properly, he is a very Indigent Creature, above the Degree of the meaneſt Beggar. And thoſe who will be ſo perverſe as to ſtyle him rich, may as well ſay, that a Man, who is ſtarv'd, dies of Plenty. This ſhews, what groſs Miſtakes there are about this Matter, and how forward Men are to deceive themſelves by falſe Repreſentations of Things.

Yea, truly, there is much of Imagination in the Point of Riches: For even *Money* it ſelf (which is the great Baſis of *Riches*, and as our Royal Author ſaith, *anſwers all Things*,) is even imaginary, and depends upon Opinion and Eſtimation. For Skins, and Leather, and coarſe Metals, were good Coin at firſt, and might be ſo ſtill, if the World would agree to it. If Princes would vouchſafe to honour theſe or any other Materials, though never ſo baſe, with their Royal Stamp, (for that makes it *Money*) we ſhould be rich and wealthy

* Οὐ γὰρ ὑπερμέτρου κτῆσις, πλοῦτος· τὸ δὲ ἱκανὸν προσήκει χρῆσθαι, Xenoph. fragm. Epiſt.

if we had enough of this kind; we ſhould be as rich in Shells and Pebbles, as in Guineas and broad Gold. And therefore it was rightly obſerv'd by an antient Philoſopher, that the *Greek Word* for *Money* * hath its Name from the *Law*, becauſe it hath not its Value by *Nature*, i. e. by any intrinſick Worth, but by *Legal* Conſtitution and Appointment. Thus, that which is the Standard of all Riches, hath no fix'd and determinate Being; that which gives the Value to all Things, hath none it ſelf.

4. Our Wealth and Riches are but *Comparative* Things, for they muſt be judg'd according to the Proportion they bear to the Wealth of others. The Riches of a Perſon or Nation are to be computed with reſpect to the Riches of other Perſons or Nations. As for example, *England* was as rich with one Million Sterling, before the Diſcovery of the *American* Treaſure, as it is now with ten, and conſequently the Nation was as happy and as powerful. Take one of the richeſt and moſt glorious *Thrones* of any of our *European* Princes, and compare it with that in the *Palace of Agra*, on which the *Great Mogul* uſually appears during the Feſtival of his Birth-Day, where he receives the Compliments and Preſents of the Grandees, and it will appear to be mean, poor, and deſpicable: For this ſtately Throne (ſo celebrated among Travellers) ſtands upon Feet and Bars overlaid with enamell'd Gold, and adorn'd with ſeveral large Diamonds, Rubies, and other precious Stones. The Canopy over the Throne is ſet thick with curious Diamonds, and ſurrounded with a Fringe of Pearl of ineſtimable Value. Above the Canopy is the lively Effigies

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* Νόμισμα τ' ὄνομα ἔχει ὅτι ἐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ ἐστί. Ariſtot.

Effigies of a *Peacock*, whoſe Tail ſparkles with a Multitude of blue Saphires, and other Stones of different Colours; his Body is of enamell'd Gold ſet with Jewels; and on his Breaſt is a large Ruby, from which hangs a Pearl, as big as an ordinary Pear. On both ſides of the Throne are two Umbrella's of curious Red Velvet, richly Embroider'd with Gold, and encompaſs'd with a Fringe of Pearl; the very Sticks whereof are alſo cover'd with the choiceſt Pearls, Rubies, and Diamonds. Over againſt the Emperor's Seat, is a moſt charming Jewel with a Hole bored thro' it, at which hangs a prodigious big Diamond, with many Rubies and Emeralds round about it. Theſe and ſeveral others are the coſtly Ornaments of this *Indian Throne*, in Compariſon of which, all thoſe of other Monarchs in the World, are but beggarly.

So for Houſes and Palaces, one is poor and contemptible in reſpect of another. Thus in that Part of *India*, which is on the other Side of *Ganges*, there is in the City of *Arracan*, a large Hall in the King's Palace, whoſe inſide is entirely overlaid with Gold, having a ſtately Canopy of Maſſy Gold, from the Edges of which hang above an hundred large Wedges of Gold in form of Sugar-Loaves. Here alſo are ſeven Idols of Maſſy Gold, of the Height of an ordinary Man, whoſe Foreheads, Breaſts, and Arms are adorn'd with variety of precious Stones, as Rubies, Emeralds, Saphires, and Diamonds. In the Hall are alſo kept the two famous *Caneques*, i. e. two Rubies of a vaſt Magnitude, and of as prodigious a Value. Thus it is only a *Comparative* Wealth and Riches that Men boaſt of. Set one Prince and great Potentate by another, and they are either poor or rich, as you compare them. But,

5*thly*, The greateſt Diſparagement of Riches and worldly Greatneſs is, that they are moſt commonly Inſtruments of Vice. *Alexander* the

Great, an excellent Prince, when he had taken *Babylon*, and ſo was Maſter of all *Aſia*, was never ſober and like himſelf after that; he indulg'd himſelf in his Cups, he ſlew his beſt Friends and wiſeſt Counſellors, would needs be a God, and in every Thing he ſhew'd himſelf extravagant; whereas before he was modeſt, ingenuous, kind, and compaſſionate, given to Temperance and Moderation. But we need not go ſo far for Examples; we have continually Proofs before our Eyes, of the evil Influence which a proſperous State hath on Mens Minds. Their worldly Affluence is made ſubſervient to Pride, and a haughty Spirit, to Luſt and Lewdneſs, to Luxury and Debauchery, to Cruelty and Oppreſſion; and amongſt other Things we ſee, that their Wealth quenches their Deſires and Longings after Heaven, and Happineſs, and a future State, yea, and oftentimes the very Belief of them: It takes off their Thoughts from conſidering the Worth and Value of their Souls; it cuts off their Dependance on God and his Providence; it renders them inſenſible of God's Judgements, and forgetful of Danger, and Death, and Hell it ſelf. So deſtructive do Riches prove to a great Number of Men, and therefore they are not to be reckon'd *Happineſs*; for that cannot be *Happineſs* which *deſtroys* Men.

6thly. I add this, (which is indeed a Conſequent of the laſt Head,) that Wealth is the Portion of the wickedeſt Perſons, and it is oftentimes acquir'd by Wickedneſs. We ſee that the vileſt and worſt of Men have the greateſt Share of this World's Riches; and many of the beſt Men are denied them, therefore they are no real Happineſs. Among the *Gentiles*, ſome of the braveſt Men were poor and indigent; *Epictetus* and *Cleanthes*, two eminent Philoſophers, work'd hard

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for their Livelihood. The former of theſe, one of the moſt refined Moraliſts, and who ſometimes talks like a Chriſtian rather than a Heathen, liv'd in a ſervile Condition, and was inhumanely uſed, *Eſop* was a Slave, and *Plautus* ground at the Mill for a Maintenance; and there are Plenty of Inſtances to prove that Men of Worth and Note were in very mean Circumſtances. Among *Chriſtians*, the moſt holy and zealous of them in the firſt Ages of the Goſpel, and many of them in all Ages ſince, have been in great Streights and Neceſſities, and even our Saviour and his Apoſtles led them this Way. Wherefore there can be no real Worth in mundane Wealth and Proſperity: For if there were, they would not be denied to the beſt Men, as we are aſſured by one who knew this very well, *No good Thing will he withold from them that live a godly Life*, Pſal. lxxxiv. 12. Now, if there be no real Worth and Goodneſs in theſe Things, it neceſſarily follows that they are not the Ingredients of our Happineſs.

7thly, and *laſtly*, The *Uncertainty* of Riches, is a ſufficient Demonſtration, that they are not our True Happineſs. Thus the wiſe *Solon* plainly told the rich *Cræſus*, when that King, in a Humour of Oſtentation, ſhew'd him all his Riches and Greatneſs, and let him ſee his vaſt Heaps of Gold, that he could not poſſibly pronounce him *Happy*, becauſe his Condition was Changeable. If any come, ſaith he, that are provided with better *Iron* than you, they will be Maſters of all this *Gold*. Therefore the excellent Moraliſt, who relates this, tells us in another Place, that though * Riches are precious and valuable, yet they are ſuch a Poſſeſſion as de-

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* Πλοῦτος δὲ τίμιον μέν, ἀλλὰ τύχης χῆμα. Plut. Περὶ παιδ. ἀγωγ.

depends on Fortune; for ſo he expreſſes it, and his Meaning is, that they are liable to Change, and are oftentimes of ſhort Continuance. But their ſudden and unexpected Leaving us cannot be better expreſs'd than it is in the Words of the Holy Scripture. After that *Wiſe Arabian* had deſcribed, (and that moſt elegantly) the Proſperity of the Wicked, he adds, *Lo, their Good is not in their Hand*, Job xxi. 16. that is, they have not their Riches, and Wealth, and Abundance in their own Power, at their own Command, and ſo can't aſſure them to themſelves. This happens to the Good, as well as to the Bad, as *Job* himſelf experimentally found. *Solomon* often mentions this as one Argument and Proof of the World's Vanity, and in theſe moſt ſignificant Words he ſets it forth, *Prov.* xxiii. 5. *Riches certainly make themſelves Wings, they fly away as an Eagle towards Heaven*: i. e. They go from us with great ſpeed and ſwiftneſs, and they are not to be fetch'd back; there is no Lure to call them to us again. They are at the Mercy of Thieves and Robbers, and Men of Violence; they are liable to be conſumed by Fire, or we may be depriv'd of them by other innumerable Accidents. Yea, Plenty and Riches are in themſelves noxious, as they give Occaſion to others to invade the Owners of them, and to take them from them; as in the Caſe of that Great Man beforementioned, his vaſt Stock of Oxen and Camels, of Sheep and Aſſes, brought upon him the *Chaldeans* and *Sabeans*. Which reminds me of what *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith of a Place in *Arabia*, that abounded with admirably rich Paſture, and all ſorts of Cattle, which invited the Lions, Wolves, and Leopards out of the Deſart to repair thither; whereupon this Hiſtorian

ſtorian remarks, that * *the Happineſs of this Region, was the Cauſe of Infelicity to the Inhabitants of it.* This is the Caſe of many others, their Riches and Abundance oftentimes become very noxious to them, and make them a Prey to powerful Invaders. Hence I gather, that they ought not to be eſteem'd as our *True Happineſs*; for *this* is a Thing that is not *uncertain* and *changeable*, but is that which cannot be taken from us.

II.

Happineſs conſiſts not in *Bodily Pleaſure*, that is, in any worldly Delights, Mirth, and Jollity, or any Entertainments of the ſenſual and carnal Appetites. I know the contrary was held by *Eudoxus*, who, as || *Ariſtotle* tells us, was the firſt Patron of this Opinion. But ·.· *Lactantius* attributes it to *Ariſtippus* and *Diodorus*. But if we make a juſt Enquiry into their Sentiments, we ſhall find, that neither they, nor *Epicurus* himſelf placed Happineſs in corporeal Pleaſures *alone*, but in Conjunction with the Pleaſure of the Mind, which ariſes from virtuous Actions. But this is certain, that from the Practice of their *Followers* it appears that they underſtood their Maſter's Opinion in the groſſeſt Senſe, and held the Pleaſure of the Body to be the chief Good. And from the Inclinations and Manners of a great Part of the World it is too evident, that they embrace this Notion; they are of that *Aſſyrian* King's Mind, who † thought, that in this conſiſted the End and utmoſt Perfection of a *Happy Reign*, to enjoy all *Sorts of Pleaſure*, and that openly and uncontroulably. And accordingly, what

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* Οὕτως τὸ τῆς χώρας εὐτύχημα τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἀτυχίας αἴτιον γίνεται. Lib. 3.

|| Ethic. *l.* 10. *c.* 3.

·.· De Verâ Sapient. *c.* 7, & 8.

† Ὑπολαμβάνων βασιλείας εὐδαίμονος εἶναι τέλος τὸ πάσαις χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀνεπικαλύπτως. Herodot.

what that Author ſaith of the *Perſians*, may be applied to them, they * are eager to enjoy all Sorts of Pleaſure which they can come to the Knowledge of. This was thought to be Happineſs, by thoſe whom the Author of the Book of *Wiſdom* ſpeaks of, *Let none of us*, ſay they, *go without his Part of our Voluptuouſneſs; let us leave Tokens of our Joyfulneſs in every Place: For this is our Portion, and our Lot is this*, Wiſd. ii. 9. The antient *Chiliaſts* were for 1000 Years Reign in Bodily Pleaſure. And the Diſciples of *Mahomet* are taught to believe that ſenſual Pleaſure ſhall be the Happineſs of the next World. But that this is not truly *Happineſs*, I demonſtrate from theſe following Particulars.

1. Senſual Pleaſure belongs to the *worſer Part of Man*, the Body, and is the Enjoyment of the *worſt* of *Men*. This alone is ſufficient to prove, that it is not the Chief Good: For this appertains to the better Part of Man, and is the Acquiſition only of very good Men. It is well obſerv'd by a Commentator on *Ariſtotle*'s Ethicks, that † *Happineſs* is rightly ſaid to belong only to the beſt Men, and let no Man (ſaith he) ſay that it ever is the Lot of the Wicked. If we ſhould reckon Men happy becauſe they are great Voluptuaries and Senſualiſts; then *Sardanapalus* the moſt profligate Wretch that ever breath'd on the Face of the Earth, was one of the happieſt Men upon it. This briefly ſhews, what Thoughts we ought to entertain, this ſhews how true that of

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* Εὐπαθείας παντοδαπὰς συνθανόμενοι ἐπιθυμοῦσι. Lib. I. cap. 35.

† Ἡ δὲ εὐδαιμονία τῶν ἀρίστων λέγεται μόνον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι καὶ τοῖς φαύλοις προσῆναι. Andron. Rhod.

of the antient Father is, that * To think Pleaſure is our Good and Happineſs, is the Opinion of one that is altogether ignorant of the Nature of that which is really Good.

2. Bodily Pleaſure is the Happineſs of *Brutes*; therefore it can't be the true Happineſs of *Man*. The two grand Pleaſures, (to particularize no more) namely, of the *Taſte*, and of *Carnal Converſe*, are common to Beaſts with us. The former of them, to wit, the natural Deſire of Food, and the Delight which accompanies it, govern thoſe irrational Creatures above all Things: And 'tis certain that ſome of them, as Cows, Sheep, and all Horn'd Animals, enjoy more Pleaſure in Eating than any of Mankind; for thoſe Creatures chew the Cud, which is a ſecond Eating of their Food. It is fetch'd back from the Stomach, and maſticated again, ſo that there is a double Feeding, and conſequently a Renewing of the former Pleaſure. And beſides, Beaſts have a brisker *Taſte* than Men, becauſe that Senſe in them is not vitiated, whereas Men corrupt theirs by Exceſs and Intemperance. Then for the latter Kind of Pleaſure, that of Luſt, it is of a much higher and exalted Nature in Brutes than in thoſe of Humane Kind. Yea, it is obſervable, that the moſt *contemptible* and *uſeleſs* Creatures have the greateſt Share of it, and their carnal Emotions are moſt vigorous. *Horſeleeches*, *Earth-Worms*, and moſt Inſects, are *Hermaphrodites*, that is, they are of both Sexes, and are both Agents and Patients in the libidinous Commerce. The dulleſt and heavieſt Creatures are moſt furniſh'd for thoſe Entertainments. And if what natural Hiſtorians tells us concerning

* Τὸ γὰρ τὴν ἡδονὴν νομίζειν ἀγαθὸν, ἀπειροκαλίας ἐστὶ πλείας. Clem. Alex. Pædag. l. 3.

cerning the *Snail*, may be believ'd, that Animal comes neareſt to the *Mahometan Paradice*. Senſitive Pleaſure is in a manner proper to Brutes, and they are greater Sharers of this Happineſs than Men are, or poſſibly can be. For they have leſs to divert and diſtract them than we have, and on that Account their Senſe of corporeal Delights is more intenſe and lively. They are not check'd by Conſideration of what is to come afterwards, and therefore they are wholly and intirely bent upon preſent Fruition.

But ſhall *Mankind* riſe no higher? Shall they place their chief Happineſs in bodily Entertainments, and in the Delights of the Fleſh? Is it a Happineſs fit for rational and intelligent Perſons to be pamper'd and high-fed? Should the Dining-Room be their Paradiſe? Should their Palates be the Seat of Happineſs? Or, is it agreeable to the Dignity of their excellent Nature that they ſhould doat on carnal Pleaſures, and be pleaſed with the Fruits of irregular Concupiſcence? Certainly we were born to higher and more excellent Things than theſe corporeal Delights. The Happineſs of a *Man* and of a *Beaſt* cannot be the ſame. It can't be imagin'd that God made them both for the ſame End: The *different* Nature and Frame of them are a Demonſtration to the contrary. Admirably ſpeaks the Platonick Philoſopher to this purpoſe, * If you name *Pleaſure*, ſaith he, you tell me of a common Thing, ſuch as no Part of the Creation wants: An *Ox*, an *Aſs*, a *Swine*, an *Ape*, are not without this. Therefore you make theſe as happy as *Man*, if you

* Πρᾶγμα μοι κοινὸν λέγεις, &c. Max. Tyr. Diſſertat. 32.

you place Happineſs in Pleaſure, and thereby you confound Beaſts with Men.

3. We are to conſider, that bodily Pleaſure debauches and corrupts the *Mind*; it vitiates the Underſtanding and Will, ſo that they who are addicted to it have little Senſe or Reliſh of Goodneſs. There is nothing doth more intoxicate the Soul of Man than this; it even faſcinates and beſots it, and hinders it from exerciſing its due Offices; but eſpecially that which is the Chief, the proſecuting of Virtue and Holineſs. This was long ſince obſerv'd by a great Moraliſt among the *Pagans*, * That Man, ſaith he, who takes too much care of his Body, hath no Regard to Honeſty and Goodneſs. Luxury and Effeminacy do not only argue the Diſtemper of the Mind, but cauſe it. I conclude then, that That cannot be our Happineſs which diſorders our Minds, and makes our better Part unhappy.

4. We ſhould do well to conſider, that many of the Pleaſures which Men are taken with, are but *imaginary* and *phantaſtical:* They are like the Mock-Feaſts made of Wax, which one of the *Roman* Emperors tantaliz'd his Gueſts with. When we approach to them, and come to make an actual Trial of them, we find not in them that which we look'd for. When we enter upon Enjoyment, they fruſtrate our big Expectations, and we ſee that the Chace was more deſirable than the Quarry. Though they paſs for Pleaſures, yet they are not indeed ſo, but mere Shews and Appearances. Among the *Hebrews* there is a † Word that ſignifies a *joyful*

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* Honeſtum ei vile eſt, cujus corpus nimis charum eſt. *Senec. Ep.* 14.

† Terugnah.

ful Shout or *triumphant Noiſe*, and alſo a *mournful Cry*, which repreſents this Truth to our Thoughts, That ſometimes there is but little Difference betwixt thoſe Things that excite our Rejoicing and our Mourning. So that ſome may be ſaid, in another Senſe than the Apoſtle meant it, *to rejoice as though they rejoiced not*. For Mens Delight is according to their different Genius's and Fancies; it is built ſometimes on no other Bottom than their peculiar Imaginations. There are ſome ſtrange Inclinations, ſome unaccountable Propenſions and Affectings. That unfortunate Prince King *Charles* the firſt, when a Child, was fond of a *Wooden-Billet*, and was continually lugging it up and down in his Arms; though ſome may make this Interpretation of it, that it was a Preſage of the future *Block* on which he laid his Royal Head. As Children ſuck their Thumbs, ſo there are grown Men that make a Pleaſure of *any Thing*. Some Years ago I met with a young Man that affected to have a *Pin* in his Mouth continually; he would go to Bed and ſleep with it, and ſometimes he would eat with it; ſo vehemently he was addicted to that odd Delight. Others we know that are very humerſome in the Choice of their Sports, and take up with thoſe that are very fooliſh and ridiculous.

And as for the Pleaſures of Intemperance and Lewdneſs, of Debauchery and Luxury, which are ſo highly eſteem'd and cried up by a great Part of the World, they are founded on falſe and corrupt Apprehenſions; and if a Man narrowly pries into them, and impartially ſcans them, he will find that they are but Seeming and Apparent. Drunkenneſs is Drudgery, Toil, and Fatigue rather than Pleaſure; and that which the Lewdeſt cry up as the moſt conſummate Joy, is but a leſſer Sort of *Epilepſy*, as

Hip-

Hippocrates long ſince term'd it. If I ſhould go through the celebrated Pleaſures of any other Kind, it were eaſie to ſhew that they deſerve not that Name; there is no true and ſolid Entertainment in them. Though they be never ſo well larded, never ſo artificially dreſs'd up, they are inſipid, and have no true Guſt and Savour in them. Which is confirmed by the Experience of One that had taſted all Kinds of Pleaſures, *I ſaid in my Heart, Go to now, I will prove thee with Mirth, therefore enjoy Pleaſure: And behold, this alſo is Vanity*, Eccl. ii. 1. The Fruition of it tickles, but doth not yield true Delight: And for this very Reaſon it is not *Happineſs*.

5. Let the Delight be never ſo great, yet it is but *ſhort* and *tranſient*. The greateſt Entertainments of Senſe, when they come to an Height, preſently flag and decay, and come to nothing. When the Want is ſupplied, the Pleaſure is over. No ſooner is there a full Enjoyment, but it breaks off and vaniſhes. Now, that is a poor Happineſs (and not worth that Name) which is ſo flitting: Wherefore I infer, that bodily Pleaſure can't be an Ingredient of Man's *True Felicity*, which is a Thing durable and laſting.

6. Corporeal Pleaſure, as ſhort and tranſient as it is, yet before it leaves us, is generally *troubleſome*, it cloggs and oppreſſes us. We are glutted and ſurfeited with theſe exceſſive Sweets, and then we begin to neglect them. The Continuance of the *ſame*, though choiceſt, *Entertainments*, is uneaſie to us; and thence it is that *Variety* is ſo pleaſing to us, becauſe thereby the dead Pleaſure revives, and a new one comes in the Room of that which is gone. This made one of the *Roman* Emperors erect a New-Office, *a voluptatibus*, for the Inventing and Deviſing *new Pleaſures*. For there is Wearineſs in a conſtant

Enjoyment, and conſequently Change and Viciſſitude are neceſſary to Pleaſure. This is a great Diſparagement of it, and ſhews that bodily Pleaſure ſhould be had only by the Bye, that it ſhould be rather glanc'd at than dwelt upon. For if we do not make a Change of it, we ſhall be ſurcharg'd with it; and whilſt we are enjoying it, it will diſturb us. To which purpoſe the Wiſe Man hath a very expreſſive Paſſage, *Prov.* xiv. 13. *Even in Laughter the Heart is ſorrowful.* Sorrow doth not only follow in the Rear, (as we read in the next Words, *The End of Mirth is Heavineſs,*) but it is in the very Body of our Pleaſures: There is ſomething that checks and damps our Spirits in the Midſt of our Delights. It is experienced, that Muſick inclines to Sadneſs, as well as Mirth.

Other Arguments might be uſed to evince this Truth, that *Senſual Pleaſure* can't be *Happineſs.* It muſt be ſo, or elſe *Fortitude* and *Magnanimity* would be no Virtues, which put a Man on Hazards and Difficulties, and Loſs of bodily Pleaſure, for the ſake of Vertue, and make him forgoe all Eaſe in a good Cauſe. This plainly ſhews, that it is not the Undergoing of Hardſhips that renders a Man *unhappy*, and that it is not outward Eaſe and Freedom from Sufferings that brings the contrary State with it.

Moreover, it is manifeſt, that Man was not deſigned to reſt in bodily Pleaſure as his End, becauſe this Pleaſure is in order to ſomething elſe, and therefore cannot be our ultimate Good, and conſequently not our Happineſs. Meats and Drinks were intended to ſuſtain our Bodies in their Being, and Life, and Health, and to make us capable to diſcharge that Work which the Divine Providence hath allotted us in the World. And all the other moderate Pleaſures of Senſe are deſigned to render our Actions more lively

and

and brisk, and our Minds more easie and chearful. Wherefore sensual Pleasure cannot be the *Sovereign Good* of Mankind, for *this* is for it self, and not in order to other Things.

III.

Happiness is not plac'd in worldly *Honour*, *Fame*, or *Renown*, nay, though it be attended with *Preferments*, *Grandour*, *Authority*, *Power*, and *Dominion* in the World, even such as *Kings*, and the *greatest Rulers* are Masters of. It is true, we grant here, that these (as the other Things which we have before discours'd of) are on some Accounts desirable and acceptable. Nothing is more charming than to be admired and applauded, and to be in great Esteem and Respect in the World; nothing is so valued as to be great and bear Sway among Men. Which made a great Moralist say, * There is no Humility so profound, that is not touch'd with the Sweetness of Glory. And this is true even of wise and good Men, Honour is not despis'd by these, as is plain from that Instance, *Gen.* xlv. 13. *Tell my Father of all my Glory*, said *Joseph* to his Brethren. For, indeed, to gain the good Word and Praise of good Men for doing vertuously is Part of Man's temporal and secondary Happiness here: And 'tis by Divine Order, that Honour, Esteem, and Repute, should be the Reward of Virtue. Most admirably *Xenophon*, † No human Pleasure, saith he, seems to come nearer to that which is Divine, than the Delectation which arises from Honour. Therefore the Wise Man hath determin'd, that *A good Name is rather to be chosen than great Riches*, Prov.

* Nulla est tanta humilitas quæ dulcedine gloriæ non tangatur. *Val. Max. l.* 8. *c.* 14.

† Οὐδεμία ἀνθρωπίνη ἡδονὴ τῇ θείᾳ ἐγγυτέρω δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς εὐφροσύνη. De Regno.

xxii. 1. And again, *Eccleſ.* vii. 1. *A Name* (for ſo 'tis barely in the Original) *is better than precious Ointment*, i. e. than the beſt and choiceſt of corporeal Pleaſures; where the Wiſe Man, without doubt, ſpeaks of that *Name* which is purchaſed by good Deeds and worthy Actions. The Renown and Honour, the Credit and Reputation which are the Recompence of theſe, are very lovely and deſirable, and all wiſe Men labour to deſerve them.

But yet neither are *theſe* our *Ultimate Happineſs*, or our *Chief Good*, becauſe they are not to be wiſh'd for, for themſelves; but they are in order to ſomething elſe, *viz.* to make us more eager in our Purſuit of Religion; they were deſign'd to be a Spur to Virtue, an Encouragement to do well. But we muſt not make them our ultimate End. Much leſs then are Honour and Greatneſs, as they are abſtracted from perſonal Worth and Deſert, and as they are mere external Acquirements, to be reckon'd in the Number of thoſe Things that make us *Happy*. This I will demonſtrate in ſeveral Particulars.

1. I argue here, (as I did before concerning *Riches* and *Pleaſures*) The moſt accumulated Honours and Grandour, cannot be ſaid to be our real Happineſs, becauſe they are *Uncertain* and *Changeable*; for what is ſo, can't poſſibly be our True Happineſs. Now nothing is more evident than that thoſe who arrive to Honours and Preferment, are not ſure to hold them. As they love to climb, ſo their Fall is the greater. To evince the Inconſtancy and Frailty of Humane Glory, I will Inſtance firſt in the great Favourites of Princes, and then in Princes themſelves, and afterwards, I will from ſome other Conſiderations, ſhew the Truth of the forementioned Propoſition.

Firſt,

First, *Favourites* and *Creatures of Princes* are ſoon out of Favour, and ſuddenly diſcarded. In the Sacred Hiſtory we read that *Joab*, after all his great Merits, after all his noble Exploits and Atchievements, and his particular Fidelity to his Prince, was caſhier'd and thrown off by him. So *Haman*, who was in great Eſteem with *Ahaſuerus*, and highly preferr'd by him, was as ſignally diſgrac'd and puniſh'd. In prophane Hiſtory, we are ſurrounded with Variety of Inſtances, which I hope the Reader will bear with, becauſe tho' they are common, yet they are pertinent to my purpoſe. *Parmenio* and *Clytus*, the great Minions of *Alexander* the Great, were caſt off and ill treated by him. *Sejanus* was ſixteen Years *Tiberius*'s Favourite, his Statue was erected and adored, and every one ſwore by the Fortune of *Sejanus*: Altars were rais'd, and Incenſe was offer'd to him, and he diſpoſed of all Dignities and Places that were in the Emperor's Gift. But at laſt, this great Darling was thrown down headlong from the *Gemonian Stairs*, and his Statues were pull'd down, and dragg'd about the Streets, and he himſelf thrown into the *Tiber*.

Seneca was incredibly enrich'd by the Emperor *Nero*, by whoſe Favour he was made Conſul and Senator of *Rome*: But this Favour had its Period, and the Tyrant condemn'd him to be ſet in a hot Bath, and his Veins being cut, he there bled to Death. *Heliogabalus*'s Diſpleaſure towards his Friends and Paraſites was as fatal to them, tho' not ſeemingly ſo ſevere; for the *Roman* Hiſtorian tells us, that he ſmother'd them with Roſes, and ſent them out of the World by a fragrant Death. *Juſtinian* the Emperor was moſt ungrateful to *Beliſarius*, a moſt deſerving General, who by his Valour and Conduct curb'd the *Perſians* and kept them within their own Bounds, and deliver'd *Rome* from being enſlav'd by the *Goths*, and expell'd the *Van-*

dals out of *Africa*, and join'd it to the Empire. This great and ſucceſsful Commander was deſpoil'd by that Prince of all Honour and Authority, and his Eyes being put out, he begg'd Alms in the High-Ways. *Ibrahim Baſſa*, the admired Favourite, the great Confident and Friend of *Solyman* the Magnificent, was murder'd by him. In our own Kingdom we have two Inſtances (to name no more) of fallen Favourites, Cardinal *Wolſey*, and the Lord *Cromwell*, who were ſoon ſtript of their accumulated Honours, when their Maſter King *Henry* the VIIIth abandoned them.

And we are not to wonder at theſe Examples that I have produced, when we conſider how eaſily obnoxious the greateſt Favourites are to a Fall. For the Minds of Princes are fickle and unſtable, and they never fix their Reſpect and Kindneſs on any one with a Reſolve not to remove them. As Accomptants do with *Counters*, ſo do Kings oftentimes deal with thoſe that are taken into the Court, ſometimes they ſtand for Thouſands, and anon, what was ſo becomes a Farthing. Thus the Account riſes or ſhrinks as the Prince pleaſes. And ſometimes according to the Pleaſure of the People, for thoſe that are higheſt in Greatneſs and Dignity ſtand fair above others to be levell'd at. Theſe great Lights, moving in ſo high a Sphere, and with ſuch Luſtre, muſt needs raiſe envious Exhalations, which caſt a Cloud upon them. Beſides, Greatneſs creates Suſpicion in thoſe that obſerve it, and that Suſpicion is dangerous. Hence Men are not long permitted to excel others in Power and Authority. When they over-grow the reſt, their Tops muſt be lower'd. Jealouſie purſues thoſe that become very Popular and Active; and the Royal Favour which exalted them, finds it requiſite to bring them down, and cruſh them.

Thus,

Thus, at laſt it appears, that the Favour of Princes is ſo far from making them *happy*, that it renders them the contrary.

Secondly, The Uncertainty of outward Glory and Honour may be ſeen in *Princes* and great Men themſelves. They are ſubject to this Change as well as others. Theſe Fountains of Honour are dried up, as well as the leſſer Streams. They deprive others of their Honours, and are deprived themſelves. Sometimes they fall by thoſe that they have exalted, as Vapours drawn up by the Sun embody into Clouds, and obſcure their Raiſer. But generally they meet with others that are greater and more powerful than themſelves, and from them they receive a ſudden and unexpected Turn of their Affairs. I will repreſent this (for the Sake of thoſe who are not converſant in Hiſtory) in ſome common, but famous Inſtances; tho' there are Hundreds more that might be alledg'd. *Xerxes* the great *Perſian* Monarch, entred *Greece* when it was ſcarce big enough to hold his vaſt Army, nor the Sea long enough to contain his huge Fleet; but in his laſt Battle he was forc'd to fly away in a Fiſherman's Boat without any Servant or Attendance, and lived a While deſpiſed of his Subjects, and ſoon after was diſpatch'd by *Artabanus*. *Pompey* the Great, who had been ſo famed for his Succeſſes in War, after a little Blaze, had his Glory wholly extinct. And he who extinguiſh'd it, and was victorious in fifty Battles, and took great Pains to get the Imperial Power, held it but five Years; for it coſt him his Life in the Senate-Houſe. *Bajazet*, the Emperor of the *Turks*, ſerv'd for a Footſtool, when *Tamerlen* (who took him Priſoner) mounted on Horſeback. And when this great Captive refuſed to ſubmit to

the Conqueror, he was ſhut up in an Iron Cage, and carried up and down to be ſeen and mock'd at. The Emperor *Henry* the IVth, who had been victorious in above ſixty Battles, in moſt of which he appear'd himſelf in Perſon, was ſo harraſs'd by the Pope, and at laſt depos'd by him, that he was worn out with Grief, and languiſh'd away.

But though there were none to grapple with great Men, and violently to deprive them of their Greatneſs and Dominion, yet theſe oftentimes decay and die of themſelves. *Alexander* the Great reign'd but twelve Years in all, and but ſix of them after he had gain'd the *Perſian* Monarchy, and thereby became univerſal Monarch. He was not permitted to enjoy his Empire, but left it unto his Captains, who broke it in Pieces. There is no clipping the Wings of Honour or Victory (as *Rome* once fondly attempted) to hinder its flying away. Time, yea a ſhort Time, defaces and devours the greateſt Glory of Crown'd Heads. Of the *Macedonian* Kings, ſome were afterwards ſeen to be Joiners, and ſome Scriveners at *Rome*. Of the *Tyrants of Sicily*, ſome turn'd *Schoolmaſters* at *Corinth*. Of the *Roman* Emperors, ſome betook themſelves to the Employment of Gardiners.

And here now I will ſtay a While, and make ſome Reflection on the *Life of Kings*. It is a miſtaken Notion the World hath, that Kings are the *Happieſt* of all Men; that they have the greateſt Share of worldly Eaſe, Contentment, and Satisfaction; that their Station is moſt deſireable and eligible, and in a Word, that it is preferable to that of all other Perſons. Whereas I can eaſily make it appear, that *they of all Men are moſt miſerable*. One of our own *Engliſh* Kings, whoſe Reign was the longeſt of all the

Kings

Kings that were before or ſince in this Iſland, was reduced to ſuch a low Ebb, to ſuch a poor diſtreſs'd Condition, that he openly declar'd, it was more Charity to relieve him, than one that went begging from Door to Door. It is certain, even generally ſpeaking, that the Life of a *King* is a conſtant Scene of Trouble, and hath innumerable more Diſquiets and Croſſes, than that of any private Perſon. *Xenephon* ſhews this very excellently in his *Dialogue* between King *Hiero* and *Simonides*. *Cardan*, the ingenious *Phyſician* of *Milan*, hath a * whole Chapter wherein he very notably ſets forth the calamitous Life of Princes. If a Man knew what he had to ſuffer from the People, he would never meddle with Government, ſaid the Knowing *Demoſthenes*, as *Plutarch* reports of him. In *Jotham*'s Parable, the Reaſon is given by the *Olive-Tree*, why he refuſed to be made *King*, becauſe he would *not leave his Fatneſs*, Judg. ix. 8. The Moral of which is, that to rule over others, is a Denying a Man's ſelf as to private Eaſe, and perſonal Contentment: They muſt ſpend, and waſte, and exhauſt themſelves to benefit others. *Moſes*, if we may believe the † *Jewiſh Antiquary*, when he was a Child, and had the Crown put on his Head by King *Pharaoh*, pull'd it off, and threw it on the Ground, and trampled on it.

Which, perhaps, will be conſtrued as a Fooliſh and a Childiſh Action: But there are Inſtances of thoſe who have arrived to Manhood and Diſcretion, and yet have done the like, that is, they have ſlighted the moſt ſplendid Crowns,

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* De Principum incommodis: in *Lib.* 3. de Utilitate ex adverſis capiendâ.

† Joſeph. Antiqu. *l.* 2. *c.* 5.

Crowns, and, as it were, trampled on the Enſigns of Royalty. We read that * *Gideon* refuſed the Government offered him. † *Saul* hid himſelf when they had choſen him King. When *Numa* was courted to accept a Crown, by Embaſſadors ſent to him from *Rome* for that very Purpoſe, he was *very hardly* wrought upon by their Intreaties and importunate Perſwaſions, to comply with that Motion. And 'tis well worth our Pains to conſult his excellent *Reaſons*, which are ſet down by *Plutarch*, in his Life. *Solon* (as the ſame incomparable Author in his *Life*, tells us) was warmly urg'd by the *Athenians* to take the Supreme Power into his Hands, and tho' he foreſaw he ſhould be lampoon'd and Paſquill'd (as he was) by the Town-Wits, as a fooliſh and weak Man for refuſing ſuch a ſplendid Offer; yet he firmly perſiſted in it. *Jovian*, who was *Julian*'s immediate Succeſſor, when he was choſen Emperor, waved that Dignity, and was with great *Difficulty* perſwaded at laſt to accept it. *Leo* the firſt the *Greek* Emperor, deſign'd his Grandſon to ſucced him, but he modeſtly balk'd that Imperial Honour, and ſet the Crown on his Father's Head. Some *German* Hiſtorians tell us, that the Imperial Dignity was offer'd to *Otho*, Duke of *Saxony*, but he ſhifted it off, and commended it to another.

We likewiſe read of Princes that have voluntarily ſurrender'd their Crowns, becauſe they found them heavy and uneaſie. *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, Joint-Emperors of *Rome*, after 20 Years Reign, gave up the Empire to *Galerius Maximinus* and *Conſtantius*, and lived a private Life, purſuant to their Motto, *Nothing is more difficult*

* Judg. vi. 8.
† 1 Sam. x. 22.

difficult than to rule well. There are later Examples of this Abdication; as King *Caſimir* of *Poland*, *Alphonſo* King of *Naples*, and Queen *Chriſtina* of *Swedeland*, who all freely reſigned their Kingdoms, and diveſted themſelves of Royal Authority. But the moſt eminent Example that occurs in Hiſtory is that of *Charles* the 5th, Emperor of *Germany*, and King of *Spain*. He was Victorious in 15 Wars, and both at home and abroad was the moſt ſucceſsful Prince that many Ages have produced; and yet this great Monarch was weary at laſt of his mighty Honours; he was tir'd with Empire, and laid down his Kingdoms, and ſo baffled his *Plus Ultra*, which had been his Motto: And even whilſt he was ſtrong and vigorous he betook himſelf to Retirement, and devoted himſelf to a private and religious Way of Living. And 'tis well known that ſeveral of our *Saxon* Kings and Queens quitted their Crowns of their own accord, and embraced an Hermitage. They ran from their Courts into Cloiſters, and choſe a retired Life before the Noiſe and Diſturbances which a Scepter unavoidably brings with it.

And indeed, the Troubles and Dangers of a Princely Life are innumerable. A Crown is frequently the Introduction to all Uneaſineſs and Unhappineſs. It is the *Sound* to the *Baltick*, the Entrance and Paſſage into a greater and wider Sea of Miſery. The Fate of Kings is to hear ill when they do never ſo well. Their Actions are miſrepreſented, and whatever Faults they have, they are ſet forth to their greateſt Diſadvantage. This is peculiar to them, that they never do amiſs but it is aggravated. There are thoſe who with *Archimedes*, are extremely pleas'd when *they have found, they have found* the Defect in the *Crown*, and will be ſure to

cry

cry out aloud of it. This is the Unhappineſs that attends the Eminency of the Condition of Princes, that whilſt they are alive, their Actions are always cenſured, and when they leave the World, the Memory of their bad Deeds ſurvives them, whereas other Mens Faults generally die with them.

And then, on the other Hand, how ſubject are Princes to be ſooth'd and flatter'd ? The Sweat of *Alexander* the Great, was ſaid by his Favourites, to yield a fragrant Smell. When *Auguſtus*'s Minions ſpied the Freckles which were in his Face and Body, they perſwaded him that they were in the Form of Stars. The People of *Ruſſia* talk much of the bright and ſparkling Eye of their *Grand Czar*, though he be never ſo purblind, or defective in his Sight. But this is harmleſs and innocent in Compariſon of what other Paraſites have inſtill'd into the Ears of Princes. When *Cambyſes* the King of *Perſia* had a Mind to marry his Siſter, he adviſed with the *Magi*, whether the Law did allow it; who anſwered, that they knew no Law that approved of it, but there was a Law that allowed the King of *Perſia* to do what he would. There is always an *Achitophel* for an *Abſalom*; there are wicked Counſellors for wicked Princes: And thence it is that the latter are conſtantly furniſh'd with ſuch Principles as are ſubſervient to their Luſts and evil Practices; hence it is that they learn to legitimate their Folly and Vices. Such Counſellors, and ſuch Corrupters are in moſt Princes Courts, inſomuch that plain and wholſome Truths ſeldom take Place there. *Pliny* treats *Trajan* more like a God than an Emperor, in his luſcious and fulſome Panegyrick. And the very People cried out to King *Herod*, after he had done his Oration, that it was *the Voice of God, and not of Man.*

Man. Thus upon ſeveral Accounts Kings and great Men are liable to greater Temptations and greater Miſcarriages than other Men. Which occaſioned that blunt ſaying of *Luther*, * All Princes and Governours ſin of Neceſſity.

And from the Whole it appears, that theſe Perſons, though they live in great Pomp and Splendour, are miſerable above all others, and that they of all Men, are the moſt to be pitied, and the leaſt to be envied. It may be look'd upon perhaps as a lank Criticiſm, that the † ſame Word in the *Hebrew* Tongue ſignifies *To get Dominion*, and *to mourn* or *lament*; but the Thing it ſelf which it conveys to us is very ſubſtantial and ſolid, and that which I have abundantly prov'd, that great Power and Dominion are attended with very troubleſome and lamentable Circumſtances. Kingdoms and Empires, and their Owners, ſeldom continue in the ſame Poſture. The Chambers of Princes and great Ones are hung with Mourning, and their Lives are fill'd with the moſt diſmal Accidents. Which effectually preaches to us the Pſalmiſt's Doctrine, *Surely Men of low Degree are Vanity, and Men of high Degree are a lie*, Pſal. lxii. 9. The Sons of *Adam*, and the Sons of *Iſh* (for theſe are the Words in the *Hebrew*) are all one as to this, namely, as to their vain and fading State, their conſtant Changings and Shiftings.

And after all, let me inſtance in a *great Philoſopher*, who merits to be reckon'd among *Princes* for his Eminency and Renown in the World, I mean, the famous *Cicero*, whoſe Riſe and Fall were both of them very remarkable. Tho' he

* Coll. Menſal.
† Rud.

he had a lean and meagre Body, and was weak and ſickly, and tho' he had a harſh Voice, and lack'd all outward Grace, and tho' he was a Man of a mean Extraction (for he was the Son of a Bondwoman,) yet notwithſtanding theſe Diſadvantages, his Eloquence and Philoſophy gain'd him a great Name, and he was very ſucceſsful in Pleading of Cauſes, and grew rich and renown'd. He was made Conſul of *Rome*, and a ſecond time was put into that Office, and was Fellow-Conſul with *Cataline*: At which time he diſcover'd his Conſpiracy, and happily prevented the Effects of it, and juſtly merited the Title of Father of his Country. Thus far Honour and Succeſs attended him: Now ſee the Reverſe of them; for when *Ceſar* mounted the Chair, and the Government was alter'd, *Cicero* could not alter his Judgement, nor conceal his Reſentments, but had the Courage to divulge them. And tho' ſome time after *Ceſar*'s Death he left the Bar; and retired to his Country-ſeat at *Tuſculum*, and then privately philoſophiz'd, yet his Sentiments as to the Publick, were ſufficiently known, and he continued a ſtiff Commonwealth's Man. On which Account he was proſcrib'd by *Mark Anthony*, and reduced to great Streights, which was but a Preface to his Murder. All his Oratory could not effectually plead for him, yea, 'twas that which ruin'd him, and accordingly he had that Hand which wrote, and that Head which ſpoke in Defence of the Aſſaſſination of *Ceſar*, ſtruck off, and ſet over the Place where he had formerly juſtified ſo dangerous an Error. And (to relate here a Piece of Female Spight,) *Fulvia*, *Mark Anthony*'s Lady, pull'd this Orator's Tongue out of his Mouth (before his Head was ſet up over the *Roſtra*,) and prick'd it all over full of

Holes

Holes with her Bodkin. Thus this great Man who had liv'd in Honour and Fame the greateſt Part of his Time, was in the Cloſe of it deſpoil'd of them, and his Life too. For theſe are ever at the Mercy of the ſtrongeſt Party that gets up, and therefore we can never ſay that they are laſting. So true is that Aphoriſm of the grave Moraliſt, * Glory and Fame are venerable, but they are unſtable and fickle.

I will yet farther evince the *Uncertainty* and *Changeableneſs* of *worldly Reſpect, Repute, and Honour*, by letting you ſee that they are not in our own Power, but depend upon others, and therefore can't be true *Happineſs*. *Haman*, when all Knees bowed to him, was enraged that one ſtubborn *Jew* ſtood ſtiff and unconcern'd. *Mordecai*'s ſullen Stoutneſs allay'd all the Happineſs of that great Man and Favourite. For the Greateſt that are, muſt be beholding to other Perſons for the Honour they have: And as they court their Favour and Smiles, ſo they place their Satisfaction in the Reverence which they pay them. But 'tis not only at the Pleaſure of any one to withhold this Tribute of Reſpect and Honour from the greateſt and worthieſt Perſons, but their Names are liable to be defam'd by any vile Man. Of Chriſt himſelf ſome ſaid, *He is a good Man*, others ſaid, *he deceived the People*. And the Apoſtles and primitive Saints were reproach'd and diſgrac'd, yea, though at ſome Times they were in great Repute and Eſteem. For the good Word and Applauſe of Men is not durable: They ſet up who they pleaſe, and they as imperiouſly pull them down.

So

* Δόξα γὰρ μὴ σεμνὸν, ἀλλ' ἀσθενὲς. Plutarch.

So among the *Ethnicks* of old, ſome of their beſt Men were ſlander'd, and the cleareſt and moſt ſhining Virtues were defamed. Soon after *Socrates* was voted the wiſeſt Man of the Age by the Oracle, he began to be envied and hated, as * *Laertius* obſerves. *Ariſtophanes* expoſed him on the Stage, and that Play wherein he brings him dancing in a Sieve, was counted the Wittieſt, and took beſt. Though he was of a blameleſs Converſation, yet he was accuſed for corrupting the Youth of *Athens*, and vilifying the Laws. Both *Socrates* and *Anaxagoras* were cried down for *Atheiſts* by the Vulgar: Yet they were plain Aſſerters of a Deity, and Enemies to Superſtition and Idolatry. *Themiſtocles*, *Ariſtides*, and *Phocion*, the beſt Patriots that the *Athenians* had, were impeach'd by them. *Epicurus*, who fed upon Herbs and Fruits, and was a great Maſter of Temperance, is reckon'd by ſome, among the maddeſt Sort of Philoſophers. *Democritus* was thought by the People of the Place where he liv'd, to be out of his Wits: Whereupon they ſent for *Hippocrates*, the great Phyſician of that Age, and gave him his Fee, and intreated him to uſe his Skill on him. He talk'd with him, and receiv'd a Laugh from him, and preſently after an Account of it, in a long and excellent Speech of the World's Folly. *Hippocrates* took his Leave of his Patient, but told the People they were much miſtaken in their Philoſopher, who was ſo far from being mad, that he was the only ſober Perſon among them, and that the World had not a Man who had ſo right Notions of Things, and could ſo wiſely diſcourſe. And if a Man's Credit lies at the Mercy of the *Fooliſh* and

* In Socrate.

and *Ignorant* (for theſe, like ſome Animals, will bark at thoſe they do not know;) how much more obnoxious then is it to the * *Malicious* and *Spightful*? It was obſerv'd of Old, † that obſcure and worthleſs Fellows, who have nothing in themſelves to commend them, and to give them a Name and Repute, labour to make themſelves known, by diſparaging thoſe that are better than themſelves. No Man's Integrity is a Guard againſt Defamation. No Man can be ſure of a laſting Repute, becauſe he muſt be beholding to others for it.

Farther, I ſhall ſhew that Fame is *uncertain* and *arbitrary*, becauſe we ſcarcely know when to give Credit to it. *Nicolas* the Deacon, from whence the filthy *Nicolaitans* took their Name, was himſelf of a pure and blameleſs Life, and was not the Author of thoſe Hereſies and ill Practices that go under his Name, ſay || *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and ‡ *Euſebius*; but in St. ∴ *Jerome*'s Account he was a vile and lewd Heretick, and ſo ſay *Auguſtine*, *Epiphanius*, and others. It is well known how *Conſtantine* the Great's Name hath been bandied. *Juſtinian*'s Repute is impair'd by *Suidas*, *Procopius*, and others: And though he is repreſented as very Orthodox by ſome, yet there are thoſe that ſay he was the Fautour of the *Eutychyan* Hereſy. Though he was at vaſt Expence about the

D *Laws*,

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* Nulla tam modeſta felicitas eſt quæ malignitatis dentes vitare poſſit. *Val. Max. l.* 4. *c.* 7.

† Οἱ εὐτελεῖς καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μὴ δυνάμενοι φαίνεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ ψέγειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν κρείττονας δείκνυσθαι βούλονται. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 12.

|| Strom *lib.* 3.

‡ Hiſt. Eccl. *l.* 3. *c.* 23.

∴ Epiſt. ad Cteſiph. & Epiſt. de Fabiano lapſo,

Laws, yet 'tis ſaid he was ſordidly covetous. Though he compiled the juſteſt Conſtitutions, yet we are told that he ſuffer'd all Sorts of Injuſtice to go unpuniſh'd. But *Paulus Diaconus*, and others, endeavour to clear him of all theſe Imputations, and to brighten his Credit, and raiſe him a mighty Fame. Thus *uncertain* and *inconſtant* is Honour and Reputation. It is given and taken away with a Breath. Pope *Julius* the 2d took the Title of *Chriſtianiſſimus* from the *French* King, and beſtow'd it on King *Henry* the VIIIth; but afterwards it was taken from this latter, and reſtor'd to the former. A Name is eaſily loſt, and as ſoon purchaſed.

Flatterers contribute much to this, as may be obſerv'd in many Inſtances. Some think that *Xenophon*'s *Cyrus* is not according to the Faith of Hiſtory, but the Idea of a Prince; not what he was, but what he ſhould be; like *Homer*'s *Ulyſſes*, and *Virgil*'s *Æneas*. And as he fram'd him a Life after his own Fancy, ſo he made him die in his Bed, when as indeed he fell in the Wars, and was overcome by a Woman. *Seneca* wrote of *Clemency* to *Nero*, and extoll'd him highly for it. *Pliny* told a Lie in open Senate, and praiſed *Trajan* for Temperance and Chaſtity, who yet was given to Wine, and a fouler Vice. The Encomiaſticks and Panegyricks are generally at a Venture: And a Reſolution is taken up to praiſe great Men right or wrong. In a neighbouring Kingdom belonging to us, the Nobles and chief Men prefix *O* to their Names as a Mark of *Eminency*: But may it not as well import, that uſually great Men are *Cyphers* and Inſignificant? But then, thoſe that undertake to flatter them, will be ſure to repreſent them as Figures of the greateſt Value. For 'tis not their Buſineſs to ſpeak what is true, but what will pleaſe. Hence the Characters

racters that are left of them are but painted Scenes, and Pageants of the Brain; and the laviſh Praiſes which are given to them are but a ſerious Piece of Drollery. There is no Man will be enclin'd to believe theſe, unleſs he can perſwade himſelf that the Acclamations which are given by Sycophants and Flatterers are ſincere and true.

And here it might be taken notice of (in Purſuance of the ſame general Topick,) that *Credit* and *Honour* are frequently *miſplaced*, and conſequently can't be any Man's *Felicity*. They are not given to the right Owners, but to thoſe who have no Claim to them. There is uſually ſuch a Thing as a borrowed Reputation. Few Things are done by the Perſons to whom they are attributed. The *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtorians make Speeches for the Commanders and Generals. The fine Harangue is owing to the Author of the Hiſtory, not the Leaders of the Armies. So again, great Men are ſaid to do what they order and command to be done. Thoſe Works which they ſet others about, are denominated from them. Thoſe famous *Inſtitutions* and *Laws* which *Juſtinian* order'd *others* to collect and compoſe, bear that Emperor's Name. The *Alphonſine Tables* are called ſo only becauſe they were ſet forth by the *Order* of *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, who was skill'd in Aſtronomy himſelf, and employ'd the Learned among the *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Moors*, to compile thoſe Tables. The *Grammar* that goes under *Lilly*'s Name was made by ſeveral. On the other Hand, ſometimes the Authors and Workmen carry away the Credit from the great Perſons who ſet them on work, with a full Deſign to have the Honour of it. Thus the *Egyptian Pyramids*, thoſe vaſt Structures deſcrib'd by *Strabo*, *Diodorus Si-*

culus, *Pliny*, and others, were intended to perpetuate the Fame and Glory of the *Kings* that erected them; but when they are beheld and ſurvey'd, the skilful *Architects* that built them are more admir'd and honour'd, than the noble and magnificent Princes at whoſe Expences they were built, as the * *Greek* Hiſtorian rightly obſerves. And the Natural Hiſtorian hath a finer Obſervation than this †, [Among all thoſe who have writ of the Pyramids (ſaith he) it doth not appear by whom they were made, the Authors of ſo great Vanity being moſt juſtly obliterated.] Which is ſtill a Confirmation of the general Theme I am treating of, the Uncertainty of worldly Honour.

The *Miſplacing it* may be further ſeen in *Inventions*, and the *Authors* of them. Sometimes a certain Perſon is the Inventor of a Thing, but another carries away the Name of it. The Circular Motion of the Earth was held by *Philolaus* a *Pythagorean*, || as *Diogenes Laertius* tells us. Others ſaid that one *Hietas* a *Syracuſian* was the firſt Aſſerter of this, as *Laertius* adds. ‡ *Plutarch* acquaints us, that it was the general and receiv'd Opinion of the *Pythagoreans*, and he mentions ſeveral others that held it. Yet we ſee that *Copernicus* bears away the Credit of this Invention, and is commonly reputed the firſt Author of it. *Americus Veſputius* diſcover'd the *Weſt-Indies*, and from him thoſe Countries have their Names; but

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* Φασὶ δεῖν θαυμάζειν μᾶλλον τὰς ἀρχιτέκτονας τῶν ἔργων ἢ τὰς βασιλεῖς τὰς παρασχομένους τὰς εἰς ταῦτα χορηγίας. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.

† Plin. N. Hiſt. l.

|| In Philolao.

‡ In Numâ.

but *Chriſtopher Columbus* had diſcover'd them before. *Lawrence Coſter*, and *John Guttenberg* vie one with another for the firſt Invention of *Printing*, but 'tis thought the latter hath the beſt Title. *Andreas Cæſalpinus*, and *Paulus Sarpius* aſſerted the Circulation of the Blood before *Harvey*: And long before them another divulg'd it, but *Harvey* is reckon'd the Author and Inventor. *Bartholine* firſt found out the *Lymphæ ductus*, if he himſelf may be credited: But others profeſs they ought to have the Precedency. The Transfuſion of Blood was firſt invented by Dr. *Lower*, and practiſed in the Year 1665; but there are thoſe that would rob him of the Honour of that Diſcovery. Dr. *Caſtel* might have better born the Name of the *Polygot Bible* than Biſhop *Walton*, if I'm rightly inform'd. It is no uncommon Thing to make a wrong Aſſignation, and falſely to aſcribe that to one Author which is due to another. This proves what I have aſſerted, that a Man's Name and Honour are at the Diſpoſal of others, and can be taken away by them; and it is all in Proſecution of the firſt Particular that I advanced, namely, the *Uncertainty* and *Changeableneſs* of worldly Honour; whereas *Happineſs* is no ſuch fickle Thing, and depending on the Pleaſure of others.

2. Worldly Honour, or the Purchaſe of a Name, is a *mean* and *ſorry Thing* in it ſelf, and this I will demonſtrate from theſe following Heads:

Firſt, The *bare having of a Name* carries no real Worth and Excellency with it. The Virtuous and Infamous are equally talk'd of, yea, recorded and regiſtred. *Cain* and *Lamech* of old were *Men of Renown*, Gen. vi. 4. *Simon* of *Samaria* would needs be reputed *ſome great One*, Acts viii. 9. though it were by the Practice of

Sorcery. The Harlots and Concubines of Kings are perpetuated in Hiſtory, as well as their Virtuous Queens. The *Dukes* of *Eſau*'s Race are all recorded; a great Part of a Chapter is fill'd with them. *Pilate*'s Name is daily mention'd and remember'd in our Creed.

Again, ſome of great Worth and Eminency have no Name tranſmitted to Poſterity. That zealous *Prophet* who had the Courage to cry againſt the *Altar at Bethel*, and the Woman of *Canaan* whom our Saviour ſo highly commended for her Faith, are nameleſs in Scripture; and ſo is the penitent Thief, tho' *Barabbas*'s Name be recorded. And who is not ſenſible that if the Names of the two *Hebrew Midwives* had not been regiſtred, yet their Deeds would have been equally famous?

I might add, that the *Name* of a Perſon may be mentioned, and yet there may be no Remembrance of *him*. The Bounty of *Mecænas*, that noble *Roman*, to learned Men, was ſo eminent, that his *proper Name* is become now an *Appellative*, and ſignifies in general, a Patron of Learning; but no Body thinks of that particular Perſon when he mentions the Name.

Beſides, there may be *more of the Name*, as * *Tully* tells us that there were ſix *Hercules's*, and *Varro* ſaith, there were four and forty. *Laertius*, in the Life of *Ariſtotle*, lets us know, that there were eight that were called by that Name. *Hippocrates* was the Name of five other Phyſicians, ſaith *Suidas*. Whence 'tis plain, that the *bare Name* doth not inhanſe a Man's Honour. How can that be a Name of Credit which is common to mean Perſons as well as others? How can that be honourable wherein the Good and

* De nat. deor. lib. 3.

and Bad ſhare alike? *Judas* was the Name of a Traytor, and alſo of an inſpir'd Pen-man of Holy Scripture. *Tiberius* was the Name of one of the worſt *Roman* Emperors, and of a very worthy Emperor in the *Eaſt*. There was *Lucian* the *Scoffer* at Chriſtianity, as well as one that died a *Martyr* in Defence of it.

Shall I add, that Names are given by an *Antiphraſis* ſometimes? Thus *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, who ſlew his Mother, was called *Philometor*, that is, the Lover of his Mother. Let me adjoin this, that the Names of ſome great Men have been taken from *ordinary* and even *contemptible* Things. It was uſual to denominate Perſons and Families from *Cattle*, as * *Varro* informs us. It is plain, that the *Tauri*, the *Porcii*, the *Vituli*, and other eminent Men borrowed their Sirnames from *Beaſts*. It is well known from what mean Things the *Fabii*, the *Lentuli*, and the *Piſo*'s took their Names. The great *Cicero* had his from a Kind of *Pulſe* leſs than a Pea, and ſome ſay from a Wart on his Noſe like a *Chich-Pea*. Our King *Henry* the IId, and his Line, had the Name of *Plantagenet*, that is the *Stalk of a Broom*. The Family of the *Ferrars* in *Rutland*, had its Name from *Ferrarius*, a *Farrier*, as Mr. *Camden* acquaints us, and their Badge was a *Horſeſhooe*. Laſtly, *Brutes* are enroll'd: *Ulyſſes*'s Dog is as well inſerted into the Regiſter of Fame as his Maſter. *Toby*'s hath as laſting a Remembrance as his Owner. So the Animal of the ſame Kind belonging to *Telemachus* is taken notice of by *Homer* as well as himſelf. *Evander*'s two Dogs that went with him, are mention'd by *Virgil*.

* De re ruſticâ lib. 2. c. 1.

We ſee then of what Value *Enrolling* is, and what a mighty Prize it is, to be *named*, and to be *ſpoken of*, and to be *remembered*. The Royal Philoſopher could ſay, * *What is this, to be had in perpetual Remembrance? It is altogether Vanity.* Or, ſuppoſe one arrive to the Honour of a *Statue*, 'tis well *known* that that is common to Tyrants, and to the beſt of Princes. I had rather the People ſhould wonder why I have no Statue, than enquire why I have one, ſaid a great *Roman*, to one that ask'd him why his Statue was not erected in the Market-places, as well as others of leſs Note. That of *Hobſon* the *Cambridge* Carrier, ſtands at the *Bull-Inn*, as well as Sir *Thomas Greſham*'s at the *Royal-Exchange*, and the former with the greater State, for he appears on Horſeback, but the other on Foot.

Secondly, A great Part of that which is called *Honour* is *fanciful*, and built only on Imagination. It is mere Pageantry, and hath nothing within anſwerable to the external Shew and Pretence. *Glow-Worms* gliſter in the Dark; but by Day-light their ſhining vaniſhes and diſappears. It is from our blind and dark Minds, from our falſe Apprehenſions of Things, that worldly Honour receives its Luſtre. *Agrippa*'s magnificent Pomp and Splendour are term'd by St. *Luke*, † A *huge Fancy* or *Imagination*, Acts xxv. 23. And the other mightieſt Efforts of Greatneſs and Honour are no other. [" Certainly " great Perſons had need to borrow other Men's " Opinions to think themſelves happy, for if " they judge by their own Feeling, they cannot find it. But if they think with themſelves, what other Men think of them, and " that

* Τί δ' ἐστὶν ὅλως ἀειμνηστον; ὅλεν κενόν. Antonin.
† Πολλὴ φαντασία.

" that other Men would fain be as they are, " then they are happy as it were by Report, " when perhaps they find the contrary with- " in. "] Theſe were the Thoughts of a great * Man, and one that was acquainted with the Heights of Honour and Preferment, and we ſee he reſolves them into Opinion and Fancy. Which reminds me how appoſitely among the *Greeks*, *Glory* and *Opinion* are expreſs'd by the † ſame Term. A great Part of that Pomp and Ceremony, that State and Grandour which attend thoſe in a high Station is mere Shew, Shadow, and Phantom. The Applauſe which is given them vaniſhes into Air and Vapour, that is, into what it was before. Do we ſee a great Man honoured and reſpected? We think we do ſo, but it is a Miſtake, for 'tis not He, but his Lands, and Poſſeſſions, and great Revenues that are honoured. The Homage is paid to his Incomes, the Knee is bowed to his Eſtate, the Reverence is done to his Titles: He is worſhipped for his Equipage and Accoutrements, for his great Train and Attendance. This is plain, for ſtrip him of theſe, and he is no more regarded than an ordinary Man. Which may convince us of what I am offering, that Honour and Fame are a Cheat, that we take wrong Meaſures in Judgeing of them, and that they are romantick and imaginary.

Look into Employments, and there you will find Fancy reigning. It is Conceit and Opinion that gives Credit, or takes it away. I will give Inſtance in a known Employment, that is, of *keeping School*: It cannot be denied that on ſome Accounts it is a ſlaviſh and ſordid Work, and

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* Lord *Bacon*, Eſſay 11.

† Δόξα.

and at the beſt it is but a low and mean Province to attend always upon *Boys*: Yet it is choſen by ſome of no mean Spirits, and preferr'd by them to all other Poſts, and is eſteem'd to be of great Repute. Why? Becauſe Fancy is much exerciſed here. A Pedagogue is a Prince, the School is his Kingdom, the Rod is his Scepter, the Youth are his Subjects and Vaſſals, the Uſhers are his Vice-Roys. We read of the *School of one Tyrannus*, the old Word for a *King*. Pedagogy is a Sort of Kingſhip. In the *Hebrew* Tongue, the Word *Alluph* is render'd both *Pædagogus* and *Princeps*: And to augment the Criticiſm, I could add, that *Shebet* in that Language, as well as ῥάβδος in the *Greek*, ſignifies both a *Rod* and a *Scepter*. Theſe Puiſſants uſe their Power according to their own Wills, they have both *Amo* and Τύπτω at command, they can be mild or ſevere as they pleaſe. Nothing is ſo Great as a *School-Maſter*: This Sort of Men are much more Sovereigns than crowned Heads, for their Power is always deſpotick and arbitrary. Moſt of their Brethren-Princes can't uſe the punitive Power without the Prologue of a Trial, there muſt be Arraigning and Finding guilty; but there is no ſuch Thing here; theſe are abſolute, and do what they pleaſe, and are accountable to none for it. It is true, a School-Maſter hath not ſuch wide Territories, nor ſuch a Multitude of Subjects as the Emperor of *China*, or the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, or the *Cham* of *Tartary*, but that makes his Empire more eaſy and more ſafe. If by the Rebellious he be depos'd, he is ſoon enthron'd again, and he eſtabliſhes his Dominion by it, his Power is increaſed, and ever after he Rules with a Rod of Iron. He hath both the *legiſlative* and *executive* Power in his Hands,

and

and after the old Way of Adminiſtration, he is both *Judge* and *Executioner*. No Wonder then that we read of ſome *Kings* that turned *School-Maſters*; they are but what they were before. If *Dionyſius* the *Sicilian Tyrant*, who was depoſed from his Throne, and baniſh'd his Kingdom, and went and taught School, had entertained this Thought, he might have imagin'd himſelf as *great* as he was before: For ſtill he rules and bears Sway, and though he doth not command Men, yet he tyrannizes over thoſe that ſometimes rule Families and Commonwealths, as is plain in *Themiſtocles*'s Boy. Thus a pregnant *Imagination* will make this ſervile Employment *honourable* and even *royal*.

And ſee how in other Inſtances Imagination works: *Taylors* had the Title of *Merchants* beſtow'd upon them by King *Henry* the VIIth, and then ſeveral of his Royal Succeſſors thought it honourable to be Free of their *Company*. The additional Title made it ſo, though there was no real Thing added. The Houſe of Correction, now known by the Name of *Bridewell*, was the *King's Palace* heretofore: On which Account a *Spaniard* would count it an Honour to be *whipp'd* there; and whilſt they are chaſtiſing him, he would think himſelf a Prince, or at leaſt a Courtier. For they are the mere Names of Things, together with our Imagination, that oftentimes makes them to be what they are to us. It is only ſtrongly fancying the Thing, and it will ſerve the Turn. As if the Lord *Sturton*'s Fate was ſoftened by his being hanged in a *ſilken Halter*. As if the *Colledge Commons* was mended by the Formality of the *Baſin* and *Ewer*. Sometimes a little Matter will turn the Scales in the Point of Honour, which ſhews it to be very nice and tickliſh. The *Pope* decided the mighty Controverſy between the Sees of *Canter-*

Canterbury and *York*, by giving the Title of *Primate of all England* to the Former, and that of *the Primate of England* to the latter. No Child could have been more pleas'd with a Rattle, than the good Spiritual Men at that time were with this pretty Diſtinction, and they have never fallen out ſince. This may ſatisfy us that the Claim of Honour is a Whimſy, that the greateſt Titles belonging to it are a ſolemn Trifling, an applauded Fiction and Chimera, a magnified Nothing.

Thirdly, I add, (as the Conſequence of the foregoing Particulars) that the Notion of Honour is *variable* and *ſhifting*; for if it depends upon *Fancy*, it muſt needs be ſo. As we ſee in *Faſhions*, it is Fancy and Affectation of Variety that rules Peoples Minds, and makes them lay aſide ſome Sorts of Habits, and take up others in their Stead. Thus Night-Rails and high Heads have come up and gone down in our Time lately: And who knows but theſe or any former Habits may be reſum'd? We are not ſure, that the ſame reſtleſs and ungovernable Humour that brought them up will not return them to us again, and that ſtanding Bands, great Ruffs, high-crown'd Hats, ſlaſh'd Doublets, and Trunk Breeches, ſhall not be once more in Vogue. And perhaps there will be a Time again when great Braſs Andirons, and heavy Bedſteads ſhall be reckon'd as laudable Furniture. As it is with *Faſhions*, I ſay, ſo 'tis with the Notions of what is *Honourable*. Thoſe Cuſtoms and Practices which are thought to be ſo at one Time, are not eſteem'd ſuch at another. It can't be otherwiſe, becauſe theſe, as well as the Modiſhneſs of Habits, are wholly at the Diſpoſal of Fancy.

And thence it is, that what is decent and honourable in one Country, is not reckon'd ſo in another. The People of *Japan* in their Walking

and

and Turning obſerve the *left Side*, as the moſt honourable. So the *Turks* prefer the left Hand to the right; but this latter among us, and other Nations, is moſt eſteem'd. The Marks of Nobility are not alike in all Places, for the Nobles in ſome Countries, brand their Faces with hot Irons, in Token of their Nobility. The *Boyars*, that is, the Noblemen of *Muſcovy*, are ambitious to have very prominent Bellies, and eſteem them as a Badge of high Birth and Dignity. In *China*, thoſe Students who make ſuch Proficiency in Sciences as to become Doctors to others, are diſtinguiſh'd by their long Nails, ſometimes as long as their Fingers.

It might here be obſerved, that Men debaſe themſelves for Gain, and think it no Diſhonour. *Veſpaſian* was ſo ſordid, as to lay a Tax upon Urine. The Noblemen of *Venice* and *Florence*, drive a Trade, and ſell one Thing or other by Retail. At the Palace Gates, there are hung up old Flasks, to ſignify that Wine is ſold there. And in the former, the *Clariſſimo*'s go into the Market, and are their own Caterers. Profit reconciles this with Honour.

So as to Ignorance, and Want of good Letters, it ſeems it doth not degrade great Men. *Witered* King of *Kent* was a Stranger to Writing, and therefore uſed the Sign of the Croſs as his Mark. The famous *Talbot* was not the leſs Valiant, becauſe of the falſe *Latin* on his Sword. The noble Earl of *Pembroke*, who liv'd at the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, could only make his Mark, when it was requir'd that he ſhould ſet his Hand to any Writing.

If I ſhould mention warlike Feats, it would appear, that there is no Agreement, no exact Standard about theſe and the Merits of martial Men. The famous Performances and Enterprizes of *Rowland*, are brought to confront and rival thoſe of

of *Oliver*. The Points of military Honour have been alter'd by the *French* King; for whereas heretofore it was accounted by Men of Arms, baſe and cowardly not to fight the Enemy when they came up to them, it lately grew honourable in the Eſteem of his Commanders and Officers, to skulk behind their Lines and Fortifications, and not appear in the open Field. The Relators of *Victories* vary about the Notion of them, for they oftentimes proclaim thoſe Victors who are beaten out of the Field. So the Emperor *Claudius*'s Soldiers, who fill'd their Head-Pieces with what they found on the Seaſhore of *Britain*, might be ſaid to return Home with Victory, and to make a Triumph of *Shells*.

This is certain, that in ſeveral Inſtances it might be made good, that there is not a general Agreement about the Nature of honourable Actions: It is not determin'd what is conſiſtent with them, and what effaces them. There are no certain Rules about this. The Trumpet of Honour and Fame hath different Notes. That which paſſes for great and glorious in the Eſteem of ſome, is not ſo in the Opinion of others, who are as competent Judges. Thus Honour is a mean and ſorry Thing in it ſelf: How then can it conſtitute our *Happineſs*.

Fourthly, It appears to be ſuch, from its being oftentimes very *caſual* and *accidental*. We read of one that was made an Emperor by his Horſe; for the *Perſian* Princes, upon the Death of *Cambyſes*, agreed among themſelves to mount their Steeds together, and to ride forth of the City, and to chooſe him for their King and Sovereign whoſe Beaſt neighed firſt: And accordingly *Darius* got the Empire by the timely Neighing of his Horſe at the Sun-riſing. One *Fabian*, a *Roman*, in the Beginning of the third Century, was choſen Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe a

Pigeon

Pigeon chanced to light on his Head in the Time of the Election. They are the first Words of *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Themistocles*, that the *Obscure Family of that Person, was the first Rise of his Honour, and caus'd his Glory to shine the brighter.* So we read of others that came from a mean Condition to Empire, as *Justin*, the Predecessor of the famous *Justinian*, who was at first a Herdsman, afterwards a Carpenter, then a Soldier, and at last an Emperor. One *Regilionas* was made Emperor of *Rome* merely for his Name, it carrying *Kingship* in it. A Grammarian being there by chance, started the Criticism, and so the Election proceeded. A *Name* may do a Man a great Kindness, for so *Probus* was made one of the *Roman* Emperors, because they liked his Name, and hoped he would prove a Man of *Probity*. The Scepter is put into Mens Hands unexpectedly: Emperors have been made of Slaves and Captives. *Varro* tells us, that there was a * *Piper* advanc'd to be King, because he pleas'd the People with his merry Playing. One that had been a Swineherd, was made Bishop of *Winchester* by King *Alfred*, on an accidental Account. So the mere *Event* and *Success* cause some to be reckoned as lawful Princes, as King *John*, and *Henry* the IVth, who if they had not been actual Kings, would have been Rebels and Traytors in History.

And the *Missing* of intended Honour is sometimes as fortuitous, and then *Barthocab*, the Son of a Star, is, by Reason of his ill-success, turned into *Barcoziba*, the Son of a Lye. A hundred Accidents may intervene, and render the Event unprosperous: Yea, the very same Projects and actual Enterprizes which have made some

* See Grot. Annotat. in Ecclesiastic. xi. 5.

ſome great, have been unſucceſsful to others. And ſometimes that which is of no Uſe alone, proves ſignificant in Company; as a Cypher denotes no Number it ſelf, but makes others to ſignifie. The Brief is, That moſt of the great Succeſſes, and the Honours that attend them, are by fortuitous Incidences, without Expectation, and without any Merits to cauſe it. But that is no true *Happineſs* which is *caſual* only: For Happineſs is ſomething fixed, and founded on a known Cauſe.

3. Honour is ſuch an Acquiſition as Men may attain to by ill Means and Arts, by vicious Compliances, by the Loſs of Integrity and Virtue, by Fraud and Falſehood, and by debauching their Conſciences: Therefore it is no *true Happineſs*. Some injuriouſly trample upon others, to get Ground to riſe upon themſelves. By debaſing others they ſometimes grow famous. Some make their Purſe the Procurer of the greateſt Titles. The Applauſe they have comes not freely, but is purchaſed, and therefore is not the Reward of Worth; conſequently this can be accounted no Happineſs by a wiſe Man: For if it was ſuch, none but the Rich and Wealthy, and thoſe that practiſe the Arts of Flattery and Bribery could be happy.

4. The greedy Deſire of worldly Honour and Applauſe, is an Argument of a *baſe* and *mean Spirit*. I mention this the rather, becauſe 'tis commonly ſaid and believed, that they are baſe and groveling Souls, and Men of ordinary Brains, that purſue Riches and earthly Pelf, but the more exalted and refined Minds fly at Honours and Applauſe. This is a vulgar Miſtake, for there are no Men have coarſer and meaner Souls, than thoſe who doat upon vulgar Praiſe and Acclamations, and rake Pleaſure in being reverenced and admired,

and

and affect to ſee their Inferiors crouch, fawn, and truckle to them. All this Pedantry and Trumpery of Courtſhip, is hateful to a Man of a generous Principle. It is a Sign of a vain Mind to nouriſh this * little ſordid hunting after Honour, Eſteem, and Worſhip. And we may obſerve, that theſe are affected by thoſe whom they leaſt of all become. The Rabble in *Spain* are miſerably poor, and almoſt famiſh'd, (and therefore they look upon Bread as a God, and worſhip it as they do their Hoſt,) but this their Poverty is attended with Statelineſs and Affectation of Greatneſs: They ſtrut, and vaunt, and pretend to be of ſome Figure. A Cobler expects to be accoſted in the Terms of *Signior* and *Cavallero*. Now, who doth not think theſe Bragadochio's to be Creatures of puny Souls? The haughty People of this Region, who affect and aſſume the Title of *Great*, have only thus far the Truth on their Side, that they have greater Vanity than other Men. It is a Demonſtration of their poor and low Spirits, that they can't ſee how vain they are, and that they univerſally and abſurdly delight in a Shew and Pretence of Grandour. Great and ſoaring Minds would not be taken up with this Pageantry, but would have more worthy and noble Deſigns: They would be ambitious of the Approbation of good Men, of thoſe that are wiſe and virtuous, and moſt of all, they deſire to be honour'd of God.

5. Worldly Honour creates *Trouble* and *Uneaſineſs*. An Archbiſhop, a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, or any other great Officer in Church or State, at the very Moment of their entring on thoſe publick

* Μικροφιλοτιμία, i. e, ἕξις τιμῆς ἀνελεύθερος. Theophraſt. Charact.

Stations, do *ipſo facto* bid adieu to the Quiet of their Lives; for every Poſt of Honour hath an appendant Grievance, and is attended with ſome Thing that is very bad. It is no Wonder therefore that that great Man Cardinal *Mazarine*, on his Death-Bed, was heard to utter theſe Words, *Were I to live again, I would be a Capuchin rather than a Courtier:* That is, he ſaw ſo much of the Vanity, Inquietude, and Trouble of a Court-Life, and the State of Princes and great Men, that he would chooſe rather to betake himſelf to Solitude and Retirement, and undergo the Severities of the ſtricteſt Way of Religion. Yea, the more honeſt, the more diligent, the more faithful and conſcientious the Perſons in thoſe high Places are in the Diſcharge of their reſpective Offices, the more Trouble, Care, and Inquietude do they bring upon themſelves. Nay, the very Reſpect which is juſtly paid them, is unpleaſant to them, for 'tis a Mortification to ſober and wiſe Men to have Ears continually grated with popular Noiſe and Acclamations. *Tully*, who had been one of the chief Magiſtrates of *Rome*, complains of the * *troubleſome Pomp of Officers and Retinue.* To a Man of ſublime Thoughts, Grandour and Ceremony are cumberſome.

But there is yet much more of Inquietude and Diſturbance, Care and Sollicitude that attends Men of Place and Honour; for they are under a double Slavery, they muſt not only be careful to carry it reſpectfully towards thoſe that are above them, but to pleaſe thoſe that are below them, even the Rabble, and the vileſt Crew, becauſe it is ſometimes in the Power of theſe to overthrow their State and Honour.

* Moleſta pompa lictorum. *Epiſt.* lib. 2. *Ep.* 16.

nour. They muſt always be upon their Guard, and be very cautious and watchful leſt they be ſupplanted. Sometimes Envy doth their Buſineſs, as *Plutarch* obſerves, that the Reputation of *Phidias*'s Workmanſhip, was that which procur'd him Impriſonment and Death. His outdoing other Artiſts was that which ruin'd him. Eminency of any Sort expoſes Men to thoſe Dangers which meaner People are not obnoxious to. A great and high Condition calls forth Ill-will and Malice. Men are moſt rude and ſavage when they have great Ones to worry; then they diſcharge there Rancour and Spight with the moſt vehement Fury. But I have partly mention'd this before, and therefore I will paſs to the next Head.

6. The *ill Effects* and *Conſequences* of mundane Honour, ſhew that it is not the Happineſs of a Man. Our Saviour told the *Jews* that this was the great Hindrance of their Embracing the Faith. *How can ye believe, who receive Honour one of another*, Joh. v. 44. *To receive Honour* here, is not a bare taking of it, but a greedy and inſatiable Deſire and Purſuing of it; and this is inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity. And in the Ages afterwards what Miſchiefs did not this produce? *The Ambition of being Biſhops*, ſaith the * Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, *was in a manner the only Occaſion of the Apoſtacy of the firſt Hereticks.* And it was this that at length ſet up *Popery*, and mounted the *Roman* Biſhop over all the reſt, and erected a ſpiritual Monarchy. Nothing is more evident, than that the immoderate Affectation of Honour is accompanied with Pride and thraſonick Boaſting, with Avarice,

* Du Pin. Bibloth. In Novatian.

and a greedy Deſire of Gain, with Falſehood and Deceit, with Violence and Rapine, and all Kinds of Diſorders in the Life of Man. In brief, It may be obſerv'd that Honour and Greatneſs make Men worſe, not better. Of the contrary, the Examples are rare, as the Emperor *Otho*, who was at firſt a luxurious and debauch'd Man, but afterwards grew ſober and manly. Our *Henry* the Vth, of a bad and diſſolute Prince, became a good King. But generally it is otherwiſe, and the Experience of many Ages acquaints us, that Greatneſs and Honours corrupt the Minds of Men, even of thoſe who before were well diſpoſed, and bring them into Extravagancies of the higheſt Nature. Like *Maſaniello*, they are intoxicated with too much Honour, they can't bear the Strength of it. If this be *Happineſs*, then you may reckon what you will to be ſo.

7. As Honour and Dignities *make Men Vicious*, ſo 'tis not to be wonder'd at that theſe are the uſual Attainment of thoſe that *are already* ſo, and are of no Worth and Excellency. This is one of thoſe *Evils* which the wiſe Man *had ſeen under the Sun, Folly is ſet in great Dignity, and the Rich ſit in low Place*, Eccl. x. 5, 6. That is, Empty fooliſh Perſons, of no Merit and Excellency, are too often advanced to Authority, whilſt in the mean Time the *Rich*, that is, thoſe that are rich in Wiſdom and Virtue, (for that I take to be the true Interpretation of that Epithet *rich*, elſe you will not be able to reconcile it with the Words both before and after,) thoſe that are in this Senſe *rich*, are *ſet in low Place*, are deſpiſed and diſregarded; and the *high* Places are fill'd with thoſe that are really *poor*, that is, deſtitute of Knowledge and Goodneſs. It is a ſmart Reflexion

flexion of the Lord *Verulam*, in his *Eſſay of Fortune*, [Certainly, (ſaith he) there are not two more fortunate Properties, than to have a little of the *Fool*, and not too much of the *Honeſt*.] And daily Experience confirms it, and lets us ſee that the outward Enſigns of Honour may be uſurp'd by Men of little Deſert, yea, by the Vile and Unworthy. It muſt be ſo. Honour depends oftentimes on the Judgement of the unskilfulleſt Perſons, and who cannot diſcern what is praiſe-worthy. Hence it is, that frequently even Wickedneſs it ſelf renders Men famous.

The gigantick Race of Men in the old World, who were the ungodly Poſterity of *Cain*, were *Men of Renown*, Gen. vi. 4. as I obſerv'd before. They that in thoſe Days were ſtronger than the reſt, and were mighty to wrong and injure their Neighbours, were *celebrated* for it. Fame is acquired by Villany and Impiety, as we gather from the Language of the *Babel* Builders, *Let us make to our ſelves a Name*, Gen. xi. 4. Let us erect to our ſelves a perpetual Monument by defying Heaven. The curſed and profligate *Antiochus* had the Title of *Epiphanes*, that is, *famous* and *renowned*. The *Ætolians*, ſaith *Plutarch*, were * *illuſtrious* and celebrated for their Faculty of Slandering and Reproaching of others. *Barabbas* the Robber was *notable*, Matt. xxvii. 16. the very ſame Epithet that is applied to the eminent Saints in *Rom.* xvi. 7. There are thoſe that would be † *known to the World* by their Wickedneſs, they would perpetuate their Names

* Καπηγορίαις λαμπρὸι. In vitâ Flamin.

† Etiam Iceleribus innoteſcere non dubitarunt, *Val. Max.* lib. 8. cap. 14.

by their flagitious Actions. The * ſacrilegious Deſire of Glory (as *Valerius Maximus* expreſſes it,) put *Heroſtratus* upon ſetting Fire on *Diana*'s Temple at *Epheſus*. *Nero* himſelf † was deſirous of eternal Fame and Renown: He would have and leave a Name behind him, and ſo he did, of a *Monſter*. Our Chronicles tell us, that a Blackſmith, who was in Rebellion in King *Henry* the VIIth's Reign, as he was drawing to Execution, animated himſelf with this, that he hoped thereby his Name and Memory ſhould be everlaſting. The Love of Fame will do ſtrange Things, if that be true which is reported of *Cardan*, that he foretold the Day and Year of his Death by Aſtrological Rules, and to keep his Reputation, ſtarv'd himſelf, that he might die at the predicted Time. He that had defended Aſtrology ſo ſtiffly, would not by any means be found fallible in his Prognoſticks. He would make himſelf famed for the Truth and Reality of them, tho' 'twas with the Loſs of his Life. So dear was his Name and Honour to him, that he would contribute to his Death rather than diminiſh them. And yet, if this Relation be true, he loſt his Honour and Life at the ſame Time.

The only Way to true Honour is in the Path of Virtue and Probity: And therefore the wiſeſt Men, and who underſtand the Nature of *Happineſs*, have ſlighted a Name, unleſs it was to be procur'd by laudable Actions. They knew that it is a Badge of Worth ſometimes to be deſpis'd: They knew that there is a Stain and Blot on all the Glory that is devoid of Goodneſs: They knew that a good Man is great,

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* Gloriæ cupidi as ſacrilega *Val. Max. l.* 8. *c.* 14

† Erat illi æternitatis perpetuæq; famæ cupido. *Suet.*

great, even when he is defamed and injured: They knew that true Virtue needs not Applauſe: In a Word, they knew that that is not real Happineſs which every Man, even the Worſt, may attain to, and that is the Honour of this World.

8*thly* and *laſtly*, Even ſome *Brutes* are capable of *Honour* and *Applauſe*, and are of an ambitious Nature, as we find them deſcribed by *Virgil*.

* *Tantus amor laudum, tantæ eſt victoria curæ.*

And *Xenophon* hath a Book of this very Thing. Whence we may infer, that neither Praiſe, nor the Senſe of it are the *Happineſs* of a *Man*, for what is common to *Brutes* cannot be the Happineſs of a rational Creature. And as Beaſts are affected with Honour, ſo honour hath been done to them. *Caligula* had a Horſe which he uſed to invite to his Table, and give him Corn out of golden Veſſels, and fill him Wine out of Bowls, and was wont to ſwear by the Fortune and Health of that Beaſt, and he deſign'd and promiſed to make him *Conſul*: And he would have done it, but that his Horſeſhip died. And this Sort of Creature hath been honour'd not only alive but dead. *Quintus Curtius* relates that *Alexander* the Great built a Town in the *Indies* to the Honour of his Horſe *Bucephalus*, and call'd it by that Name. And we are told by *Strabo*, that this Horſe was buried with great Pomp, and had a famous Tomb erected to his Memory, by his Maſter. And we have read of others that built Monuments for the Animals they loved. The Emperor *Adrian* ho-

* Georg. liv. 8.

noured his beloved Steed *Boriſthenes* with a Tomb and Epitaph, and *Publius Braſſus* did the like to his Mule. This may hint to us, that there is no real Good and Felicity in the common and receiv'd Marks of Honour; for (as hath been ſaid) it is impoſſible that the Happineſs of *Men* and *Brutes* ſhould be the ſame. Much more might be ſaid by way of Enlargement, but I have already ſwell'd this Head beyond the Proportion of the foregoing ones. I paſs to the next.

IV.

Happineſs is not placed in *genteel Birth* and *Parentage*, or in that which is called *Nobility*. It is true, this is a great worldly Excellency and Privilege, and much boaſted of by thoſe that are Poſſeſſors of it: But I will make it evident that nothing of this Nature can conſtitute the Happineſs of an intelligent Creature, of a good and wiſe Man. For,

1. If we conſider and weigh Things arighr, we ſhall ſee that all Men are *alike* as to their Birth and Extraction. If we go back to the antienteſt Parentage, and the firſt Original of Mankind, we ſhall find (as the ſacred Philoſopher tells us,) that the World it ſelf was made of one univerſal Matter and common Maſs. There is no Difference between Things as to this: There are the ſame primitive Ingredients of all Bodies. And then, as to the more particular Matter out of which Man was made, we are acquainted from the ſame ſacred Writings, that *the Lord God formed Man of the Duſt of the Ground*, Gen. ii. 7; and therefore *Adam* had his Name thence, to remind him of his Original. And becauſe all Men in the World deſcend from this firſt common Parent, therefore they muſt own themſelves to be of earthly Extraction. Kings and Emperors and their meaneſt Subjects, have

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the ſame conſtituent Matter: The Wealthy and the Indigent, Fools and Philoſophers, Perſons of the moſt different Denominations are framed out of the ſame Principles, and muſt acknowledge the Identity of their Materials. This is the Meaning of what the great Apoſtle ſaith, *God hath made of one Blood all Nations of Men*, Acts xvii. 26. Be their Difference never ſo great in other Reſpects, yet in this they are alike, the ſame Blood runs in their Veins, becauſe they are compounded of the ſame univerſal Matter. We have no Reaſon then to brag of our Pedigree and Deſcent, when we look back to the Duſt from whence we were. And if we ſpeak of Priority or Precedence, which is ſo conſiderable in Pedigrees, the *Hebrew* Maſters have a pretty Saying, *A Fly had the Start of thee in the Creation.* Which is ſaid to check the Pride of thoſe who vaunt of their Antientry and long Deſcent.

Again, Thoſe that inſiſt on their Birth and Parentage, ſhould reflect on their more *immediate Origine.* Remember whence thou hadſt thy Riſe, *ex guttâ fœtidâ*, ſay the * *Jews*, from their Rabbi *Aiba*, intending thereby to curb the Pride of Man. Nay, let me be permitted to ſuggeſt that what *Job*'s Friend ſaith, † *Man is a Worm, and the Son of Man but a Worm*, is true in the ſtrict and philoſophical Senſe concerning every Man, as to his firſt Beginning. And what the Pſalmiſt ſaith of himſelf, ‖ *I am a Worm*, is literally true of all Men, as well as of all other Animals, as a learned Naturaliſt and Phyſician hath demonſtrated. Thus the Generation of all Creatures is alike; the Perfecteſt of them, and even Man him-

* Perk. Avoth. c. 3.
† Job xxii. 6.
‖ Pſal. xxii. 7.

himſelf, have the ſame Beginning. I might here mention what the foreſaid *Jewiſh Doctors* are wont to alledge, and remind Men of, to wit, their firſt humble Situation *inter ſtercus & urinam*, before they peep'd into this World. This ſhews the baſe and vile Deſcent of the greateſt Pretender to noble Birth. If he thinks of his firſt ſordid Lodging, it will take down his Creſt.

And he may farther conſider, that when he comes into the World, he doth not appear like a Creature that would be proud of his Nativity. *Plutarch* thus ſets him forth, * "Nothing is ſo imperfect, ſo ſhiftleſs, ſo naked, "ſo ſhapeleſs, ſo defiled as a new-born Child, "to which alone, of all Creatures almoſt, Nature hath denied a clean Paſſage into the "World, but he comes beſmear'd with Blood, "fill'd with Gore, and more like a *ſlain* and "*murdered* Creature than a born Child." Or if you pleaſe to take the Pourtraiture of this wretched new Comer into the World, you may have it from the Pen of a ſacred Writer, or rather from God himſelf, who deſcribes the natural State of the *Jews*, under the Similitude of a new-born Infant expos'd to the World, *Ezek.* xvi. 4, &c. where ſome of the very ſame Terms and Expreſſions are made uſe of that I juſt now produced out of the foreſaid Author, and therefore it was no Indecency to mention them: Eſpecially the new Gueſt is here repreſented as *polluted* and *loathſome*. When we conſider

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* Ουδέν ἐστιν οὕτως ἀτελὲς, οὐδὲ ἄπορον οὐδὲ γυμνὸν, οὐδὲ ἄμορφον, οὐδὲ μιαρὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐν γοναῖς ὁρώμενος· ᾧ μόνῳ σχεδὸν οὐδὲ καθαρὰν ἔδωκεν εἰς φῶς ὁδὸν ἡ φύσις, ἀλλ' αἵματι πεφυρμένος, καὶ λύθρου περίπλεως, καὶ φονευομένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ γεννωμένῳ ἐοικός. De amore prolis.

ſider theſe Things, we may juſtly applaud the Saying of *Eccleſiaſticus*, *Pride was not made for Men, and them that are born of a Woman.* Chap. x. 18. Our Make, and the Meanneſs of our Extraction, and the Circumſtances that attend it, forbid us to boaſt of our Deſcent.

Again, we are to remember, that in *Adam* all our Blood was tainted, we are all Traitors and Rebels, as we are his Race: We have all of us an indelible Blot and Stain upon our Nature. As we are his Offspring, we are defiled and corrupted, we are obnoxious to Death and miſery, and therefore 'tis highly unreaſonable to vaunt our Birth and Lineage.

And *Laſtly*, let us look forward to the Duſt to which we are going, as well as we did before caſt our Eyes back upon the Earth from whence we came. As we came from, ſo we are to return to the Worms. Therefore with relation to the Grave, the Place of Rottenneſs, *Job*'s Words were ſpoken, *I have ſaid to Corruption, Thou art my Father, and to the Worm, Thou art my Mother and my Siſter*, Job xvii. 14. Here is our great and noble Kindred, and we are all equally Allied in the Pit.

2. There is no true *Excellency and Worth* in the reputed Badges of Nobility. The Bearing of *Coats of Arms*, the grand Ingredient of this celebrated Dignity, came down to us from the old Fighting *Germans*, who were wont to paint their *Weapons* with the Shape of ſome Beaſt or Bird, or what elſe they thought fit, and generally they added ſome ſignificant *Impreſs* or *Motto*, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from their Fellow-Soldiers; and beſides, on the Top of their *Helmets* they placed ſome eminent Mark of Diſtinction. Hence it was, that theſe Ornaments of their Weapons and Armour, became

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the Badge and Cognizance of their reſpective Children and Families. Thus the Enſigns of Honour were derived from the *Sword* and *Battle*, and the Foundation of Nobility was laid in *Blood*, in *Hoſtility* and *Slaughter*: And can we then believe that there is any real Worth in it, and that Heraldry carries intrinſick Honour with it? Who is ſo ſilly as to think that *Eſcutcheons* and *Banners*, and blazoning by *Metals* and *Colours*, or by *Furrs*, *precious Stones*, or even by *Planets*, makes one ever the better Man? Is there any Addition of Excellency to the *Grand Signior*, or the King of *Spain*, by the former's wearing the *Moon* for his Creſt, and the latter's having the *Sun* for his Helmet? And as for *Blood*, if we conſider the vaſt Mixtures that have been made in the World, we ſhall conclude that there is little or none of it clarified and refined. The *Scythians*, now called *Tartars*, who are thought not to have any great Gentility, as to their Birth, or Breeding, but have the Character of the rudeſt People in the World, are juſtly ſtiled *officina generis humani*, the moſt Part of *Aſia* and *Europe* having been peopled by them, from them were the *Turks*, the *Poles*, the *Swedes*, the *Hungarians*, the *Ruſſians*, the *Scots*, and ſome Part of *Germany* and *France*, and from theſe other Nations have been ſtock'd by continual Intermixtures. So that there is no clear Blood to be found, unleſs it be in *Utopia*.

3. The Nobility and high Birth which are ſo much eſteemed and valued by ſome Perſons, are not properly their *own*, and therefore a wiſe Man can't find any thing like *Happineſs*

in them. * To be born well, ſaith *Plutarch*, is a brave Thing, but it is ſuch a Good as comes from our *Anceſtors*, not from our ſelves. And another ſaith rightly, † When you extol your noble Deſcent, you praiſe your *Forefathers*. Or, it may be it is but a While ago ſince there was no Nobility in that Stock. Cardinal *Wolſey*, who was loaded with the higheſt Honours by King *Henry* the VIIIth, the Lord *Cromwell*, who was advanced to great Titles and Dignities by him, could not brag of their Extraction, unleſs the *Slaughter-houſe*, and the *Anvil* could juſtifie their Pretenſions. As high and ſounding as *Drake*'s Coat of Arms was, namely, a *Field Diamond* charg'd with a *Feſs wavy* between the two *Pole Stars Arctick* and *Antartick*, *Pearl*; it is the Cognizance of one that had been a poor Sea Boy, a young Tarpaulin. And ſome of the greateſt Families in *Europe* had at firſt no better a Beginning.

But if Nobility be not left us, it may be purchaſed. Money, and the Prince's Favour are able to make any Man honourable. This Way of *Heraldry* is truly Blazoning by *Metals*, by *Or* or *Argent*. Some then have little Reaſon to be proud of their noble Deſcent, and their antient Houſe, which was bought as other Houſes are.

4. *Baſe Actions* efface Nobility, and therefore of it ſelf it can't be accounted any Part of Happineſs. It is true, ſome think that nothing is a Blot to Men of high Birth, but that this legitimates all they do. By the Patronage

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* Εὐγένεια καλὸν μὲν, ἀλλὰ προγόνων ἀγαθόν. Inſtitut. pueror.

† Nobilitate generoſus es, parentes tuos laudas. Minut. Fel.

tronage of this, they imagine they may do any Thing, or this at leaſt will excuſe any Fault. The *Polander* that was executed for Killing Mr. *Thinn*, pleaded, that God had Reſpect for a *Gentleman*, and would uſe him as ſuch, and therefore an Affront offer'd to one of that Character might be revenged at any rate. It is thought that Nobility of Birth will compound for thoſe ill Actions which are puniſhable in others. However, they are of the Mind, that this is ſufficient Honour and Excellency of its ſelf, and needs no Acceſſions. It is ſaid to be unbecoming a *Man of Birth* to be eminent in any Thing which is commendable in others. King *James* the firſt's *Latin* was too good for a *King*, and a *Lord* is laught at if he hath any *Learning*. But eſpecially, they require no *moral Endowments* in a great Man. As they are rais'd above common Perſons as to their Birth, ſo they are permitted to ſink below in Virtue and good Qualities.

But theſe are moſt horrid Conceptions, and ought to be extirpated out of the Minds of theſe Perſons. For if Treaſon againſt the Crown taints the Blood, and cancels Nobility, then ſurely Crimes againſt Heaven ſtain thoſe Perſons who commit them, and their Pretence of high Birth rather aggravates than diminiſhes their Offence. We read that the *Jews* gloried in their Deſcent from *Abraham*, in their being of the Race of the Patriarchs and Prophets: But our Saviour rightly reproved them for this vain Way of Boaſting, and in the mean time, *not doing the Works of Abraham*, Joh. viii. 39. The Claim of Honour from our Anceſtors, is an empty Sound without the Badge of Virtue, and the Enſigns of a brave and noble Mind. Yea, the Mentioning a *Name*, a *Family*, and

and *Blood*, without Marks of Goodneſs and Worth, is but a Scandal and Reproach; for there can't be a greater Diſgrace than to have extraordinary Invitations and Encouragements to be good, and yet to fall ſhort of thoſe that are of the meaneſt Degree. To this purpoſe, the *Satyr* of *Juvenal* may be conſulted, which is an Invective againſt thoſe that boaſt of their *Progenitors*, of their *Statues*, and other *Enſigns of Nobility*, and yet act and live unworthy of them.

But this, and what hath been ſpoken before, is not ſaid, to vilifie Perſons of noble Deſcent, and to level them with the inferior Sort of Mankind. For though God hath made all Men of one Blood, (as we heard before) yet he diſtributed that Blood into different Veſſels and Veins, ſo that there hath ever been kept up the Diſtinction between *Ben Iſh* and *Ben Adam*, noble, and ignoble. And the God of Order, the Conſtitutions of Men, the Laws of Nature, and the common Reaſon of the World have ſo long maintain'd it, that it is a Folly to withſtand it. Noble Deſcent is a very valuable Privilege, and is a great Spur to virtuous Undertakings. * *To be well born*, ſaith the excellent Moraliſt whom I had before quoted on the like Occaſion, *gives a Man a great Freedom and Aſſurance*. Whilſt others are apt to be timorous and low-ſpirited, he ſpeaks and acts with Courage, and a becoming Confidence; and when he appears in the Cauſe of Religion, he more ſignally gives Proof of that generous Spirit which accompanies the Dignity of his Birth and Blood. Thus heretofore, when the Goſpel was

* Παῤῥησίας θησαυρὸς εὐγένεια. Plut. de Inſtit. puerorum.

was read in the Churches of *Poland*, the Nobles and Gentry uſed to draw their Swords. But that which I advance at this time is this, That great Titles without Worth, are but a Libel, Eſcutcheons are but a Blot and Stain, or Enſigns of Pride and Vanity. But then theſe, and Extraction, and Parentage are honourable when they are commended by Generoſity and Bravery of Mind: Then the Blood is noble, when it receives its Tincture from Virtue, which is the nobleſt Die. Otherwiſe, the beſt Blood running in the Veins of the greateſt Perſons, will be ſo far from adding any Grace to them, that it will leap up into their Faces, and appear there in the Colour of reproachful Bluſhes.

5*thly*, There is another Conſideration which I will make uſe of, namely, that *Obſcurity of Birth* hath never been deſpiſed or counted diſgraceful by wiſe and underſtanding Men. Whence (as well as from the former Conſiderations,) we may gather, that the Contrary is not to be number'd among the Things that will make us happy. In our Saviour's *Genealogy* are reckoned *Ruth* the *Moabiteſs*, and *Rahab* a *Victualler*, a Profeſſion infamous among the *Jews*, becauſe thoſe of that Employment were generally of evil Converſation, and therefore ſhe is called a *Harlot*. Which Mixture in Chriſt's Pedegree, may inform us, that Baſeneſs of Birth or Stock is not deſpiſed by him. So among others, the braveſt Perſons have not been aſhamed of their mean Deſcent, but they have rather reckoned it as Part of their Fame that they had riſen from a low Condition to a Better. Nay, thoſe that pretend to be the greateſt Judges of Honour and Nobility have done this. *Agathocles*, and other crown'd Heads, have freely own'd, and even boaſted of the Lowneſs of their Birth and

and Parentage, and not asham'd to keep by them, and upon Occasion produce the Marks and Relicks of it. Add to this, that *Kings* have married their *Subjects*, and those of a mean Rank, and yet thought that thereby they did nothing to diminish their Royal Honour and Dignity. And *lastly*, I will conclude with what I find recorded of the antient *Egyptians*, a wise People, and the first Professors of Wisdom among the *Gentiles*: In their Panegyricks on the Dead (which was very usual with them,) they commemorated their *good Deeds*, but said nothing of their *Pedegree*, they never so much as mention'd their Lineage and Parents, for as * the Historian observes, *They counted all Noble that were Virtuous.* They knew that there is nothing really commendable and praiseworthy in that Honour which is deriv'd from Progenitors, and therefore it cannot be our *Happiness.*

6thly and *lastly*, All Men of good Sense and Judgement have agreed in this, to reckon *Virtue* and *Goodness* to be the true *Nobility.* It is spoken in a proverbial Way by the *Jews*, [Let no Man be reckon'd Ingenuous and Noble unless he be exercised in the Study of the Law.] And that excellent *Jewish* Writer tells us that † none but wise and righteous Persons are to be stiled Noble, and these deserve that Title though they be born of Bondslaves and Captives. This likewise was the Sense of the *Pagans.* || A good Man in my Esteem is noble,

 saith

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* Diodor. Sic. lib. 2.

† Μόνους χρὴ λέγειν Εὐγενεῖς τοὺς σώφρονας καὶ δικαίους, κἂν τύχωσιν ἐξ οἰκοτρίβων ἢ ἀργυρωνήτων γεγονότες. Philo de nobilitate.

|| Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἐσθλὸς εὐγενὴς ἐμοίγ' ἀνήρ. Euripid.

ſaith one of them. * Virtue is the only Nobility, ſaith another. † Produce all the Annals, ſet forth all the triumphal Chariots, and brave Atchievments, and yet you will find nothing that goes beyond the Bravery and Excellency of Virtue and Morality, ſaith a third.

This is more eſpecially the Sentiment of all *Chriſtian* Men, and therefore it is remarkable that the Apoſtle ſaith of the *Bereans*, that they *were more noble than thoſe in Theſſalonica, in that they received the Word with all Readineſs of Mind, and ſearched the Scriptures daily, whether thoſe things were ſo*, Acts xvii. 11. Their religious Forwardneſs and Induſtry ſhewed that they were of an excellent Temper and Diſpoſition, and they had noble and generous Souls, which ſounds bigger than all Titles of ſecular Honour, and Badges of outward Dignity. It is no Fiction, but a ſolid Truth, that the *Court of Honour* is ſet up under *Chriſtianity:* Here is the true *Heraldry:* This preſents us with the greateſt Enſigns of Honour. Hence it was that *Romanus*, a Perſon of high Birth, a primitive Martyr, told the Emperor *Galerius*, that it was not the Blood of his Progenitors, but the Chriſtian Profeſſion that made him Noble. There is no Enſign ſo honourable as that of the *Croſs* of Chriſt. There is no Affinity ſo glorious as that of a Believer. All the Priviledges and Dignities that the Sons of Men boaſt of, are mean in reſpect of this. In ſhort, Godlineſs is the greateſt and the moſt valuable *Nobility*, be-

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* ——Nobilitas ſola eſt atq; unica Virtus. *Juven.*

† Explica to os faſtos, conſtitue omnes currus triumphales, nihil tamen morum principatu ſpecioſius reperies. *Val. Max.* l. 8.

becauſe it makes us really *happy*, which no other can do.

V.

I have hitherto enumerated thoſe Things which were by the *Pagan* Moraliſts called *the Goods of Fortune*, viz. *Riches*, *Pleaſure*, *Honour*, *Nobility*, and I have made it appear, that none of theſe ought to be eſteem'd as the *Happineſs* of rational Creatures, much leſs of thoſe that have arrived to the Knowledge of Chriſtianity. It remains now that I proceed to the Conſideration of thoſe Things which were ſtyled by the foreſaid Moraliſts, the *Goods* or *Endowments of the Body*: And they are *Health*, *Strength*, *Beauty*. And here firſt I will ſhew that *bodily Health* cannot be reckoned as a Branch of our chief Happineſs. It is true, the Want of Health is a great Affliction, and thoſe that have labour'd long under it, and *have ſuffered many Things of Phyſicians*, will proclaim this aloud: And on the other Hand, Health is a Bleſſing of no mean Nature: And among all Temporal Enjoiments there is not any one that outvies it. This is the Chief of them all, and ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary, that all others without this are not worth the Enjoying, nay, indeed, in the Abſence of this, the Fruition of them is utterly impoſſible. Yet that a healthy Conſtitution, or actual Health of Body is not the grand Happineſs of a rational Creature, nor any Part of it, may be proved from theſe enſuing Heads.

1. If it were ſo, then *Sickneſs* would make a Man *unhappy*: But we have Demonſtrations of the contrary. For a feeble and ſickly Body is conſiſtent with a heal and ſound Mind, of which whoſoever he be that is Poſſeſſor, cannot be unhappy. A Man may be a Lover and Practiſer of Virtue, and a Friend of God, and

conſequently Happy, though there be wanting a due Circulation of the Blood, though there be not a right Fermentation of the other nouriſhing Juices, though the Springs of Motion in the ſeveral Parts and Veſſels be not regularly ſet on Work. Yea, it hath been ſufficiently proved by the Maſters of Divinity and Morality, that Sickneſs and Languiſhment of Body promote the Health and Strength of the Soul. God hath taught me more of himſelf in ten Days Sickneſs, than I could get by all the Labours and Studies of my whole Life, ſaith a famous *Divine, and a Man of great Piety and Learning. And there are great Numbers of pious Men that can atteſt the like concerning themſelves.

2. It may be prov'd that the moſt heal Temper of Body is worſt for the *Soul*. This is true in the very Philoſophy of it. The nearer a Man approaches to that Craſis of Body wherein the healthful Plight of it conſiſts, the nearer he comes to Fooliſhneſs and Softneſs of Mind. That humid and ſucculent State of Body which moſt cheriſhes the vegetative and ſenſitive Part is an Enemy to the rational one: But the Hot and Dry is fitteſt for the reaſonable Soul to act in, the animal Spirits being then moſt ſubtle and active. Whence (as *Huartus* and ſome other Phyſicians relate) a Fever hath ſometimes cured Fools and ſtupid Perſons of their Folly. The more we nouriſh the Body, and thereby fortifie the Conſtitution, we do at the ſame Time prejudice the Operations of the Mind, and make the Body an impediment to the Soul. And then, as to the ſpiritual Conſideration of this Point, who ſees not that

* Dr. *Rivet*. See his Life.

that in the Midſt of bodily Health, 'tis hard for Men to have enlivened Thoughts of another World, and of the Change of Death? By their Freedom from all corporal Maladies, and a continued Enjoyment of a good Diſpoſition of Body, they are enclin'd to be too debonaire, and to indulge themſelves in ſenſual Pleaſures, to forget their greateſt Concern, to be unmindful of their future State, and of Preparing themſelves for it. But,

3*dly*, Suppoſing the beſt bodily Conſtitution, and that which is moſt favourable to the Soul, to be attain'd, yet it is *fading* and *uncertain*, and *eaſily changed*. This Structure of our Body muſt be propt and ſhored up. There are continual Dilapidations, and therefore there is a Neceſſity of Repairing them. This is done by great Care and Diligence of our own, and by the Rules and Preſcriptions of the more Skilful; for theſe are to be made uſe of when our own Skill and Induſtry fail us. King *Aſa* was not blamed for conſulting the Phyſicians, when he was diſeaſed, but for *not ſeeking to the Lord* at the ſame Time, 2 *Chron.* xvi. 12. But though we prudently apply our ſelves to the Maſter of Medicine, whoſe Armory is in the Apothecary's Shop, whence he ſupplies himſelf with Weapons, both Simple and Compound, to encounter the Patients Maladies, yet they frequently prove ineffectual, and ſometimes dangerous. It is no Wonder then that Health is uncertain. * A Man may as well expect Summer-Weather all the Winter long, as that a continual Health without all Pain and Diſeaſe

* Εὐδίαν δὲ χειμερινὴν μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἢ σαφῆ σώματος ἀβλάβειαν ἐλπίσειεν ἀνδρὶ παραμένειν βεβαίως. Plut.

ſhould laſt with him. Yea, let me add, that when the Body is arriv'd to the higheſt Pitch of Health, it is in the greateſt Hazard, as I find it vouched by the famous * *Hippocrates.* And his Reaſon is, becauſe the beſt Habit of Body can't grow better, therefore it will change to a worſe Plight, for it can't laſt long in one State. And this may be made out from what I ſaid before; the beſt and moſt eligible Temper being when the Spirits are moſt active and uſeful, there muſt follow an Alteration in a ſhort Time, becauſe theſe Spirits are very fine and ſubtile and volatile, and therefore are the ſooner waſted; and when theſe fail, by which the phyſical Union of the Soul and Body is made, the Soul takes its Leave of the Body.

4*thly* and *laſtly*, *Health* is but an Attainment of the *Body* at beſt, and therefore can't be the Happineſs of one who hath an immortal Soul as well as a periſhing Body. † How ridiculous is it, ſaith a learned Writer among the ancient Chriſtians, to reckon that to be one's chief Good which the *Phyſician* can give in ſome Degree, but not continually? The true *Happineſs* muſt come from a higher Head, and muſt be a greater and more enduring Bleſſing. It is the Accompliſhment of the better Part, the Mind, which is of a neverfailing Nature, and Defies all the Attacks of Mortality.

VI.

Next to *Health*, I may add *Strength of Body.* He that reckons this as Part of the chief Good of Man is under a groſs Miſtake, for,

1. It is common to *bad Men* as well as *good*, which

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* Αι ἐπ' ἀκρον ἐυεξίαι ϕοβεραὶ. Lib. 1. Aphor. 5.

† Quid tam ridiculum quàm id habere pro ſummo bono quod medicus poſſit dare? *Lactant.* de falſâ ſapientiâ.

which cannot be ſaid of the chief Good. It is recorded in *Gen.* vi. 4. that *there were Giants on the Earth in thoſe Days:* On which St. *Auguſtine* makes this Reflection, God would have ſuch to be to teach us that the vaſt Magnitude of Body, and that wonderful Strength which accompanies it, are not to be reckon'd as the Happineſs of Man, ſeeing theſe bodily Gifts are beſtow'd on the worſt of Men. It is ſaid of *Tiberius*, that with his Finger he could bore through a ſound Table, and with a Fillip he could break the Head of a good big Boy. And others of a very ill Character, have been famed for the Bigneſs and Stoutneſs of their Limbs. This robuſt Frame of Body oftentimes enables Men to do Miſchief, and they ſo uſe it accordingly. *Samſon's* Strength was the Occaſion of great Evil to himſelf, and to others. There are many Inſtances to prove that thoſe of unuſual Size, who are tempted thereby to be venturous and daring, have been very unſucceſsful. At the beſt, Bulk and Strength are not the Qualifications that commend a Man, for then Queen *Elizabeth's Yeomen of the Guard*, and Noblemens *Porters*, and the *Wine-Porters* of the City ſhould be reckon'd among the *Worthies*.

2. This Excellency is common to *Beaſts*, yea, and it doth more eſpecially belong to them. For how inconſiderable is the Strength of Man compared with that of ſome other Animals, as Elephants, Bulls, Lions? Truly it may be obſerved that ſome Brutes excel us in bodily Endowments, as the Nightingale in her Voice, the Hare and the Goat in their Swiftneſs of Foot, the Eagle, and other Birds in their Quickneſs of Sight, the Hound and other Dogs in their Smelling, and moſt Creatures in their Taſte. Generally Brutes are more exquiſite in

their Senſes than Men, which ſhews what is the great Felicity of Mankind, not ſomething corporal, but that which is of a higher Nature. Men have a ſhort and imperfect Senſation in reſpect of ſome Beaſts, becauſe Reaſon and Religion are to be their Perfection. Nature was not ſo elaborate in the lower Faculties of theſe latter, becauſe greater Things were deſign'd for them, and ſuch as ſhould exerciſe their nobler and ſuperiour Powers. And particularly as to the Matter now before us, Bodily Strength, it is moſt eminent in ſome irrational Creatures, that Gift being fitteſt for them, ſeeing they are deſtitute of Reaſon. This then may be reckoned as the Happineſs of a Horſe or an Ox, but not of a Man.

3. That is not our chief Happineſs which is *ſubject to Decay*, and is in it ſelf of a periſhing Nature. It is not denied by the great Moraliſt, whom I have often quoted, that * Strength is a Thing not unworthy of Mens Praiſes and Wiſhes; but he adds, that it is eaſily decay'd by Sickneſs and Old-age. It is true, that ſometimes Strength is increas'd by Sickneſs and Infirmity, as in Fevers, in Fits of Anger, and of Madneſs, but it is ſhort, and ſoon dwindles. Even the ſtrongeſt Man hath his Boundaries, his Sphere of Activity: This *Hercules* hath his *Pillars*, his *Non-ultra*, and at laſt his Vigour and Power end in the Grave: But *Happineſs* doth not ſo.

VII.

Nor is *Beauty*, which is another bodily Good, to be inſerted into the Number of thoſe Things which conſtitute the Happineſs of intelligent Beings.

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* Ἰσχὺς δὲ ζηλωτὸν μέν, ἀλλὰ νόσῳ εὐάλωτον καὶ γήρᾳ. De Inſtit. puerorum.

ings. 'Tis granted that this is a Gift of God, and therefore is ſo far a divine Excellency; and on that Account it is, that Perſons are commended for it in ſacred Hiſtory, as ſhall be ſhewed afterwards. And it being the Donative of Heaven, thoſe that are Poſſeſſors of it ought to be thankful to God for it, and to make uſe of it to good Ends. To which purpoſe *Socrates* adviſed his ſmooth-faced Scholars to look their Faces often in the Glaſs, that beholding their Comlineſs, they might ſtrive to do Things worthy of it, and of the Donor: As on the other Hand, he exhorted the Deformed to ſee themſelves in the Glaſs, that they might hide their Deformity by Learning and ingenuous Behaviour.

Again, it can't be denied that Beauty renders Perſons acceptable. The *Hebrew* Child, becauſe of this excellent Quality was preſerv'd by *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, and adopted by her for her Son. Among the *Perſians* of old, they advanced none to the Throne that had any viſible Infirmity and Deformity in their Bodies, yea, they and the *Ethiopians*, (as *Herodotus* tells us) generally choſe their Kings out of the talleſt and moſt comely Perſons among them. Nor can we wonder at it, ſeeing outward Comelineſs is ſuch a Spectacle as ſtrikes the *Retina* briskly and vehemently, and calls forth Deſire and Admiration, and is the great Lure of Love and Affection.

This alſo is to be granted, that Beauty and Virtue are not inconſiſtent. *Sarah*, even when advanced in Years, was ſo charming, that two Kings, *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, fell in Love with her. *Rebecca* was *very fair to look upon*, Gen. xxiv. 16. *Rachel* was *beautiful and well-favoured*, Gen. xxix. 17. *Eſther* was *fair and beautiful*, Eſth. ii. 7. *In all the Land were no Women found ſo fair*

as

as the Daughters of Job, Job xlii. 15. And the Holy Ghoſt in Scripture takes Notice of this Excellency in ſome of the Manly Sex, who were religious Perſons. *Joſeph* was *a goodly Perſon und well-favoured*, Gen. xxxix. 6. *Moſes* was *a goodly Child*, Exod. ii. 2. and again is praiſed for his Beauty in *Acts* vii. 20. where 'tis ſaid, *He was exceeding fair*, or according to the Original, * *divinely Fair:* His Countenance was adorned with divine Graces and heavenly Features. And we find *Juſtin* the Hiſtorian, making mention of *Moſes*'s amiable Perſonage. It is recorded of *David*, that he was *of a beautiful Countenance, and goodly to look to*, 1 *Sam.* xvi. 12. *Daniel* was one of thoſe Children *in whom was no Blemiſh, but were well-favoured*, Dan. i. 4.

I further grant, that ſometimes bodily *Uncomelineſs* and *Deformity*, are Badges of inward and mental Defects. Sometimes a monſtrous Shape is the Indication of a depraved and diſtorted Mind. *Homer* fits *Therſites* with a miſſhapen Body anſwerable to his Diſpoſition and Manners. For ſo 'tis, that oftentimes there are natural Marks of Virtue or Vice in the Bodies of Men. They bear thoſe Characters which partly denote their Inclinations. Hence *Zopyrus*, from obſerving the Configuration of *Socrates*'s external Parts, pronounced concerning the natural Diſpoſition of his Mind: And *Socrates* himſelf could not deny that he hit it right. *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* foretold the future Behaviour of *Julian*, afterwards Emperor and Apoſtate, from the Features of his Face, and the Geſtures of his Body. Thoſe famous Phyſicians *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, and thoſe celebrated Philoſophers

* Ἀγαθῷ θεῷ. Divinement beau. Fr. Tranſ.

loſophers *Triſmegiſtus*, *Pythagoras*, and *Ariſtotle*, were great Aſſertors of Phyſiognomical Predictions. The *Gymnoſophiſts*, and the *Ethiopians* of old, went upon theſe Principles, and accordingly always made choice of the faireſt and comlieſt Perſon to Rule over them. Here we may diſtinguiſh betwixt *Natural* and *Aſtrological* Phyſiognomy; the latter conſiſting of *Metoposcopy* and *Chiromancy*, which make the Lines and Strokes in the Face and Hands ſubject to the Dominion of certain Planets, Aſpects, *&c.* is vain and groundleſs, and hath nothing but arbitrary and uncertain Principles to ſupport it. The former, namely that Phyſiognomy which is natural, is approved of by the greateſt Sages, and hath Philoſophy to commend it, but is not entirely to be depended upon. All that we can ſay is this, that *ſometimes* external Signs and Marks of the Body give notice of the Temper of the Mind. From Inſpection of the outward Parts, we may *gueſs* at the inward ones. Some notorious Blemiſhes of the Body, are Indications of moral Deformities.

But notwithſtanding thoſe Things which are to be granted, it is undoubtedly true, that corporeal Beauty is not to be number'd among the Things which make Perſons *happy:* And that for theſe enſuing Reaſons:

1. Becauſe it depends much on *Fancy*. A vehement and paſſionate Lover will pick out Beauty from Deformity, blanch the ſwarthieſt Skin, perfume the ſtrongeſt and rankeſt Exhalations, and make the moſt crooked and prominent Parts ſtreight and flat. This is not to be wonder'd at, ſeeing there are no *abſolutely* certain and poſitive Rules for Beauty: There are no ſet Lines for the Face or any other Part of the Body. Every Man is free to make what he will comely. Beauty changes its Shape

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in every Country, and is as variable and unconſtant as any of the Poſſeſſors of it can be ſuppoſed to be. There are thoſe among the *Indians* that ſlaſh and pink their Bodies, and reckon it a great Piece of Finery. Others paint their Skins with ſeveral Colours, and with the Figures of Birds, Beaſts, Flowers, *&c.* which was the Faſhion of the firſt Inhabitants of this our Iſland, whence ſome ſay they had the Name of *Britains.* And the *Picts*, a Branch of the *Britiſh* Race, were ſo called by the *Romans*, becauſe of their painted Skins. Yea, I could tell you of the *Hotantots* who think themſelves fine when their Arms and Legs are hung about with Sheep's Guts.

But to proceed to the more particular Detail of reputed Beauty: Great and thick Lips are moſt commended by ſome of the *American* People. Thoſe of *Peru*, account the biggeſt and largeſt Ears to be handſomeſt, and accordingly they ſtretch them to as great Dimenſions as they can. Wide Mouths are moſt Beautiful in other Places, ſaith *Purchas.* Little contracted Foreheads are graceful among the *Mexicans.* Some Nations ſtigmatize themſelves and burn Letters in their Foreheads. Black-Teeth are all the Faſhion in the Iſland of *Trinitade*, in *Cumana* and *Japan.* It is very comely to be without Teeth, among a certain People of *Peru*, for they pull out their Teeth, and offer them to their Idols. The *Tartar* Women place a great Part of their Beauty in little Noſes: And the leſſer theſe Parts are, the fairer they are eſteemed. In other Countries nothing is more graceful than a flat Noſe. The Beauty of the *Turkiſh* Women conſiſts in their black Eyes: And thoſe are accounted the moſt handſome who have the largeſt of theſe; that is as much as

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to ſay, great goggle Eyes. Among ſome *Indians*, and univerſally among the Women of *China*, little Feet are very graceful: And ſo 'tis among the *Spaniſh* Ladies, who alſo value themſelves much upon the Smallneſs of their Hands.

And we might obſerve that, That which is Beauty at one Time, is not ſo at another. Among our ſelves, *Beards* were thought comely in Men, but now not. And among our Women heretofore red or yellow Hair was no Blemiſh, but we can't ſay the ſame in theſe Days. Yea, 'tis well known that yellow Hair was the great Beauty of old among the *Roman* Ladies, inſomuch, that they painted and dyed their Hair of this Colour, if it was naturally of another. *Now* it is otherwiſe, at leaſt in theſe Countries, and that Hair is counted deformed that is of this hew. Again, Women that had Hair of their own, and which could furniſh them with Locks, reckon'd it an Ornament to wear them: But among us and ſome neighbouring Nations of late, to cut off theſe Ornaments (now no longer ſuch) and give them to the Men, is faſhionable and pleaſing. Who would have thought that *black Patches* ſhould be reckon'd beautiful? Perhaps, in Time, *Flea-Spots* will be eſteemed to be ſo, and Ladies will keep and nouriſh thoſe little Animals on purpoſe to adorn and grace their Skins. Thus we find *Solomon*'s Concluſion of his *Proverbs* fully verified, *Beauty is vain*, or rather, according to the *Hebrew*, *Vanity*, for we ſee it conſiſts in Opinion, Fancy, and Cuſtom. There is no certain Standard of it: It is changeable and arbitrary: Which ſhews, 'tis no real and ſolid Thing: But *Happineſs* is ſo.

2. There is no *compleat* and *perfect Beauty*. There is no abſolute Face, there is no Body without Blemiſhes and Imperfections. For there are theſe ſix Things that muſt concur to exact Beauty:

1. Rectitude or Straightneſs. None of the Parts muſt ſtoop forward or bend backward, or lean on one Side; and there muſt be Uprightneſs in the Whole. 2. Growth and due Increaſe of the Body, ſo that it arrives to a laudable Stature, for a Dwarf is not beautiful. 3. Integrity of Parts, for that Perſon that wants an Ear or an Eye, or even a Tooth, is not exactly comely, though he hath the foregoing Ingredients of Beauty. 4. Congruity and Harmony of the Parts, which we call *Shape*. There muſt be Proportion and Suitableneſs, and orderly Coherence of every Member, or elſe the Perſon is ſo far from being beautiful, that he is rather monſtrous. 5. As there muſt be all the Parts, and all in their Proportion and due Place, ſo they muſt all be laid over with a natural lovely Colour, for this gives the Gloſs to all. 6. There muſt be added to all theſe a decent and graceful Motion, which (as the Lord *Verulam* rightly ſaith) is the principal Ingredient of Beauty; but is that Part of it which no Limner can expreſs.

Now where are all theſe to be found *together*? We ſee ſome of an extraordinary Form, and great Elegancy of Features, but there is lacking Growth and Maturity, or the Rectitude of the Whole. Some are compleat as to theſe latter, but the Lineaments of their Face and Body are defective. Others have good Faces only, and the Reſt of their Bodies out of Order. Some are Well-ſhaped and excellently proportion'd, but all is cover'd with a rough or a tawny Skin, or ſome oher Way diſagreeable. Others, on the contrary, are fair and amiable as to Colour and Complexion, but they have no Proportion and Symmetry of Parts. There are thoſe likewiſe, who are not deficient as to Colour and Shape, but then there is wanting a graceful Motion and Behaviour. Thus Beauty is a very rare Thing,

Thing, becauſe it conſiſts not in a ſingle Part of the Body, but is a complex Thing, and is conſtituted of many Ingredients, which never meet together in the ſame Perſon. And therefore the great and famous Limner who undertook to draw *Venus* exactly, borrowed ſomething from all the fair Ones he could light on. Theſe were to club to make a Beauty: But there is no ſuch Thing in any *one* Perſon in the World.

I might here take notice that there is a Slur put upon the beſt and moſt honourable Part of the Body: In the very *Face*, the Place of Majeſty, and the principal Seat of Beauty, is placed that Griſtle which is the Sink and common Sewer of the Brain, through which Nature ſends forth its ſuperfluous Dregs and Filth: So that even *this* End of the Body is the Place of the Evacuation of Excrements. In the faireſt Countenance on Earth there is ſituated this offenſive Drain, to humble thoſe who think too well of their Faces. I think it may be truly ſaid, that if there were but a Dozen People with Noſes, we ſhould think them filthy Monſters. But it was thought fitting by the Allwiſe Creator, that there ſhould be an Allay to that Part of which we are wont to be moſt proud. So the *Peacock*'s goodly Train is diſparaged by his black Feet, and diſmal Voice. To ſhut up this Head, bodily Beauty is *imperfect* and *defective*, but ſo is not true *Happineſs*.

3. Beauty is uſually beholding to *Art* to make it what it is accounted to be. It is the Dreſs that commonly gives the Elegancy and Form. The greateſt Female Beauty, if abſtracted from Tirewomen and artificial Ornaments, is not much to be admired: Which ſome are ſenſible of,

of, and therefore are loth to be ſeen without them. To ſpeak plainly, the Habit generally is beautiful, not the Perſon. And when *Patches* are added, it is a clear Confeſſion that they make uſe of them as a *Foil* to ſet off their Viſage: And they that *want* this, have no Exceſs of Beauty to brag of. *Paint* generally is the Attendant of Patches, and further proclaims the Scarcity of Beauty, for if they had this, they would not fly to a Box or a Glaſs to make them handſome. And all the other Trickings and Decorations, argue that they are deſtitute of that which they pride themſelves in. They are beholding to their Coſmeticks, and dare not be ſeen with their own Faces. If this be a *Happineſs*, it is a counterfeit one.

4. Beauty is not *durable*, and on that Account can make no Perſon happy. It is a Thing that is ſuperficial and Skin-deep, and therefore eaſily defaced and deſtroyed. Perhaps this was the Mythology of the Poets, when they tell us that *Adonis* was turn'd by *Venus* into a *Flower*; that is, the Youthfulleſt and the Faireſt ſoon decay, like a Flower; they fade and wither in a ſhort Time. The fineſt Complexion and Shape are disfigur'd by Diſeaſes and Sickneſſes. When the Almighty *with Rebukes doth* thus *correct Man, he makes his Beauty to conſume away like a Moth*, Pſal. xxxix. 11. However, if it yields not to Sickneſs, it muſt to Time. Old Age brings with it a ſhrivell'd Skin, and marrs the delectable Symmetry of the Body, and cauſes all its priſtine Comelineſs to dwindle and decay; and at laſt, Death defaces it wholly. For which Reaſon, *Cyrus* order'd when he was dying, * that none ſhould ſee his Body after

* Xenoph. de Inſtit. Cyri.

after he was dead. For then the former Beauty, comely Features, and graceful Looks are chang'd into Deformity. Now certainly, what is thus liable to *Change* and *Ruine* is no *Happineſs*.

5. Beauty is a Gift beſtow'd on the *worſt* Perſons ſometimes. *Saul* and *Abſalom* are both commended for the Lovelineſs of their Perſonages, 1 *Sam.* ix. 2. 2 *Sam.* xiv. 25. *Tamar* is ſaid to be *fair*, as well as *Rachel*, and *Vaſthi* as well as *Eſther*. So in *Pagan* Hiſtory it might be ſhewed, in innumerable Examples, that *fair* and *comely* are Epithets juſtly due to Perſons of ill Fame and Morals. The moſt beautiful Aſpect hath been attended with a deformed Mind. The Outſide hath been raviſhing, but the Inward at the ſame Time monſtrous and deteſtable. Who then can pronounce ſuch Perſons Happy?

6. Beauty is uſually a great *Snare* and *Plague* to the Poſſeſſors of it. The Fair are always tempted. Ambuſhes are laid for them, and the Amiableneſs of their Countenances betrays them. Perhaps this was the whole Deſign of *Homer*'s Novel of *Helena*, to acquaint us that the corporal Perfections of Women prove deſtructive to themſelves and others. When Beauty becomes an Inſtrument of Vice, it grows miſchievous, at leaſt it is infamous:

* ——*Rara eſt adeo concordia Formæ*
Atque Pudicitiæ. ——

This ſurely can't be reckon'd as *Felicity*.

7. *Deformity* is no *Unhappineſs*, becauſe the beſt Perſons ſometimes are of no agreeable Aſpect

* Juvenal. Sat. 10.

and Figure. There were * ſome of the antient Fathers who held that our Saviour was of this Number: Tho' † others of them, on the contrary, ſay he was exceeding fair and comely. I believe neither, and there is no Scripture to atteſt it. Our Saviour was neither deformed, nor exquiſitely beautiful. It was deſigned that he ſhould be a Man of Sorrows and Troubles, and that he ſhould not be commended to the World by thoſe Things which the World prizes ſo much. St. *Paul* is thought by ſome to have had a contemptible Viſage, and other Diſadvantages of Body, and ſo he is deſcribed by *Lucian* the Scoffer; but I do not ſee any good Ground for this in thoſe Expreſſions which are produced out of his own Writings to ſupport it; for when he ſaith to the *Corinthians*, that *in Preſence he is baſe among them*, 2 Cor. x. 1. and that *his bodily Preſence is weak*, Ver. 10. it may be meant of his mild and humble Carriage, of his natural Weakneſs and Infirmities, of his Poverty and mean Circumſtances in the World. But however, it is certain, that many Perſons eminent for their Chriſtian Piety and Godlineſs, have not been commendable for their bodily Preſence: And we read of ſeveral Philoſophers, Orators, and Poets, who were brave Men, and of great Worth, that were of this Character. *Æſop* told his Maſter, that || he ought to look upon his Mind, not on his outward Viſage. *Ariſtotle* was hunch-back'd and ſtutter'd: *Roſcius* the famous Actor, had a very ill Aſpect. *Ovid* was witty, and *Epictetus* virtuous, but both de-

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* Clem. Alexand. Tertullian, Origen.

† Jerom, Chryſoſtom

|| Ἀφορᾶν δεῖ εἰς τὴν γνῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰς τὴν ὄψιν. Vit. Æſop.

deformed. What *Seneca* ſaith of *Claranus*, a Man of an ill Countenance, yet wiſe and worthy, is very remarkable * " Nature ſeems to " be ſomewhat unjuſt, in Placing ſo good a " Soul ſo ill: Or rather, perhaps the Deſign " was to ſhew by this, that 'tis poſſible for " the ſtrongeſt and moſt happy Ingeny to lie " under the fouleſt Skin." And here by this Inſtance it appears, that the Soul is not defiled by the Deformity of the Body. Yea, we ſee from this and many other Examples, that the Deformity of the Body hath been recompenſed by ſingular Accompliſhments of the Mind. A rich Pearl is contained in a rugged Shell.

8*thly* and *laſtly*, It is the general Suffrage of all wiſe Men that *Virtue* and *Righteouſneſs* are the only *true Beauty*. Perhaps this Truth was deſigned to be convey'd to us in the double import of the † *Greek* Word, which ſignifies both *good* and *fair*: However, we are ſure of the Thing it ſelf, that is, that Virtue and Goodneſs are fair and beautiful. A well-ſhaped Soul, an honeſt Mind, is the greateſt Pulchritude. Some think this is meant by ἀνεὴρ θεῷ, *Acts* vii. 20. and that it expreſſes the *divine Beauty* of *Moſes*'s Soul. Perhaps it may refer both to his corporal and mental Beauty, in reſpect of which latter eſpecially, he is ſaid to be *fair to God*, to be beautiful in his Sight. *Plato* hath a ‖ whole Diſcourſe of this *ſpiritual* and *divine*

 Beauty,

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* Iniquè ſe geſſit natura, & talem animum malè collocavit: Aut forſaſſe voluit hoc ipſum oſtendere, poſſe ingenium fortiſſimum ac beatiſſimum ſub qualibet cute latere. Et videtur in exemplum editus, non deformitate corporis fœdari animum. *Epiſt.* 66.

† Καλὸς.

‖ Phædrus vel περὶ καλοῦ.

Beauty, and he places it in the Rectitude of the Mind, as it knows God aright, and is endued with moral Excellencies: And he declares it to be his Perſwaſion, that if Virtue could be ſeen with Mens Eyes, and diſcerned as diſtinctly as other Objects, it would attract all Mens Sight, and be reckon'd the chiefeſt Beauty. This is the * *real* and *true Pulchritude* according to *Maximus* of *Tyre*. And the incomparable Fathers of the Chriſtian Church ſpeak after this manner: † "The beſt Beauty, ſaith "one of them, is that of the Soul, when 'tis "adorn'd with the holy Spirit, and thoſe Ex"cellencies which ariſe from it, as Righteouſ"neſs, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, the "Love of Goodneſs, Shamefacedneſs, and Bluſh"ing, than which there never was ſeen a more "beautiful Colour." ‖ The Beauty of the Soul, ſaith another, is the Symmetry of it according to the Rules and Meaſures of Virtue. Thus we ſee what is the true Beauty. And though ſome Men have clapt a ſtrange affrighting Vizard on the Face of Virtue, yet if you view it in its own proper Features and Colours, you will ſay it is exceeding fair and raviſhing. Though Men of perverſe Minds ſay of it, as of its Author, that *it hath no Form or Comelineſs* in it, yet to every one that judges aright, there is nothing ſo graceful, ſo lovely as this is. A good Mind is a brighter Ornament than a good Face, and therefore this, and not that, is to be reckon'd as an Ingredient of Man's *Happineſs*. VIII.

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* Τὸ ὄντως καλὸν, τὸ καλῶ ἀληθινόν. Differt. 8.

† Κάλλος ἄριστον τὸ ψυχικὸν ὅλον, &c. Clem. Alex. l. 3. c. 11.

‖ Κάλλος ψυχῆς τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν σύμμετρον. Baſil in cap. 5. Eſai.

VIII.

Laſtly, Happineſs conſiſts not in *Knowledge* and *Learning*. It is true, this is to be preferr'd to all the *other* Things that I have before named; for the Goods of the *Mind* far excel thoſe that are external and bodily. And therefore you may obſerve, that *Solomon* mentions this in the firſt Place, and gives it the Pre-eminence to all the other deſirable Things of this Life, *Eccl.* i. 13, 17, 18. *Knowledge* is a brave and gallant Gratuity, and ſuch as Men are apt moſt to be proud of, for it ſeems to elevate and exalt them to a more than ordinary Pitch, and he that is Poſſeſſor of it, is counted a great Favourite of Heaven. It is certain that Parts, and Wit, and skill in good Letters, are a choice Gift, and highly to be valued, and have met with Eſteem, even among the Ignorant and Rude. Learning even in an Enemy is reſpected and reverenced. *Pindar*, the famous Lyric Poet, was ſpared by *Alexander* the Great, when all others, at the Taking of *Thebes*, were ſold for Slaves. *Marcellus* order'd *Archimedes*, the celebrated Mathematician, to be exempted from the common Slaughter when *Syracuſe* was to be deſtroy'd. Martial Men favour the learned Arts, as knowing their juſt Precedence to the Sword. Skill excels Proweſs, and *Ariſtotle*'s Learning outdid his Royal Pupil's Victories.

I will therefore enquire at preſent into this moſt valuable Accompliſhment of Mankind. I will conſider humane Knowledge, as it conſiſts of mental Endowments, and the Acquiſition of Learning by Study, Obſervation, and Experience, the Skill not only in vulgar and popular Arts, call'd Mechanick, but thoſe that are more refined, and of a higher Nature, ſtiled *Liberal* and *Ingenuous*; the Knowledge of the Works

of Nature, thus briefly compriſed in *Wiſd.* vii. 17, &c. *The certain Knowledge of the Things that are, namely, to know how the World was made, and the Operation of the Elements, the Beginning, Ending, and Midſt of the Times, the Alterations of the Turning of the Sun, and the Change of Seaſons, the Circuits of the Year, and the Poſitions of the Stars, the Natures of living Creatures, and the Furies of wild Beaſts, the Violence of Winds, and the Reaſonings of Men, the Diverſity of Plants, and the Vertues of Roots, and all ſuch Things as are either ſecret or manifeſt.* The Knowledge of Things Civil as well as Natural, the Skill to manage worldly Affairs, whether private, or of the Community. All theſe excellent Gifts and Endowments are deſervedly priz'd and valued, as being the beſt of mere human Accompliſhments: But that theſe are not our *chief* and *ultimate Good* and *Happineſs*, I will evince from ſuch Conſiderations as theſe:

1. One may be a very *good Man*, and yet may be in a great Degree ignorant of this Kind of Learning. Whom did God chooſe out to diſcover his Will to in a more peculiar and ſignal Manner, but ſimple and weak Perſons, void of Arts and Policy? He paſsed by the wiſe Men of *Aſſyria*, *Chaldea*, *Egypt*, and old *Greece*, and reveal'd himſelf in a familiar Way to ſuch plain Men as *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*. He made choice of ſilly Shepherds, and Herdſmen to beſtow his greateſt Favours upon: He was pleaſed to converſe with ſuch as theſe by immediate Inſpiration, and to bleſs them with extraordinary Gifts and Graces, for their own as well as others real Advantage. And when afterwards, in the Fulneſs of Time, Chriſt came into the World, he himſelf, and moſt of his Apoſtles, and the Generality of the primitive Chriſtians,

who

who were the Beſt of Men, had no Skill in Arts and humane Literature.

* A few Things well digeſted in the Mind, will make a Man wiſe, and the Matters which learned Heads are buſied about, need not be any of thoſe few. This hath been the Apprehenſion even of thoſe that have been the greateſt Maſters of Sciences. Thence the Stoicks diſtinguiſh'd between *Sciences* and *Studies:* † That which others called the liberal Arts, they called *Studies*, they would by no means give them the Name of *Sciences*, becauſe true Knowledge and Wiſdom are not placed in them. But they acknowledged them to be uſeful ſo far as they were well applied, that is, in order to ſome greater Things, and no Man muſt ſpend the main Portions of his Time in them. The chief Man of this Sect condemn'd too nice and operoſe Enquiries after theſe Things, and || profeſſed the Study of the liberal Arts to be unprofitable as to the greateſt and higheſt Concerns, and to the making a Man good. To this purpoſe the Royal Philoſopher ſpeaks incomparably, ‡ *You are unlearned* (ſaith he) *you can't read, but you can abſtain from Contumely and all injurious Actions, you can conquer Pleaſure*

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* Paucis opus eſt ad bonam mentem literis. *Sen. Ep.* 106.

† Τὴν φιλομυθίαν καὶ καθόλου τὰς ἐγκυκλίους λεγομένας τέχνας, ἐπιτηδεύματα μὲν καλοῦσιν, ἐπιστήμας δὲ οὐ. Stob. Eclog.

|| Τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν ἄχρηστον ἀποφαίνει. Zeno lib. de Repub.

‡ Ἀναγινώσκειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ ὕβρεις ἀνέχεσθαι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ ἡδονῶν καὶ πόνων καθυπερτέρειν ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς δόξης ὑπεράνω εἶναι ἔξεστιν. Antonin. de vitâ ſuâ. lib. 8.

and Pain, you can deſpiſe Glory and Applauſe: If you have attain'd to this, you are Maſters of the beſt Learning. Though you be not a Man of Parts, or a great Clerk, though you be not a Man of Wit and Elocquence, though you be a Stranger to all humane Sciences, yet you may be Virtuous, and conſequently, you may be *happy*. Religion conſiſts not in thoſe Things, and there are many good Men that know nothing of them.

The Reaſon of it is plain, namely, becauſe our *Religion* and our *Happineſs* are of univerſal Concern, and all Sorts and Ranks of Perſons are intereſted in them, not only the witty and learned, but the ſimple and illiterate. Goodneſs and Holineſs equally reſpect all Degrees of Men, and they ought to be the Buſineſs of every Man's Life: But there are but few that attain to Learning and ingenuous Arts. Thence I conclude that bare humane Knowledge and Learning are not any Part of our *Happineſs*, for this is a Thing that ought to be look'd after by all Men, and it muſt be the Attainment of every good Man, whether he hath a weak or a ſtrong Brain, whether he be letter'd or unlearned. We are told concerning the famous *Grotius*, that when his Death approached, he wiſh'd he had the plain Integrity of a poor labouring Man that he knew, and whoſe Name he mentioned, inſtead of all the Learning (together with the Honour) which he had acquir'd.

2. As one may be a good Man, and yet void of humane Learning, ſo another may be a very *bad Man*, and yet be Maſter of a great Wit, and have a vaſt Treaſure of humane Learning: Which infallibly proves that theſe are not the Things that make a Man happy. It is poſſible, yea, 'tis common to arrive at the higheſt intellectual Perfections with the Abſence of true

Good-

Goodneſs. None knew more than King *Solomon*, but none had leſs Command of himſelf, and by his exceſſive Lewdneſs and Idolatry he brought a Curſe on the whole *Jewiſh* People. Look among the *Nations* of old, and you will ſee that the learnedeſt and wiſeſt of them were the greateſt Idolaters. All *Greece* was but one Chappel for the Devil. And among the *Egyptians* there was not one Animal but the *Swine* which was not worſhipp'd by them. And if we ſhould deſcend to our Saviour's Time, and that which ſucceeded it, there we ſhould find that the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, the moſt learned and accompliſh'd Perſons of all the *Jews*, were the moſt vigorous Oppoſers of Chriſt, and the moſt implacable Enemies of Chriſtianity. And afterwards the Chriſtian Religion ſuffered moſt of all from the Learned. *Lucian*, who lived in *Trajan*'s Time, was one of a very ſharp Wit, but ſhamefully made uſe of it againſt the Chriſtians. *Celſus*, an Epicurean Philoſopher in *Adrian*'s Reign, a Man of ſingular Endowments, was the firſt of the *Pagans* who profeſſedly writ againſt the Chriſtian Religion. *Porphyrius* was the next, who lived in the Reigns both of *Aurelian* and *Diocleſian*. As he was Scholar to *Plotinus* the great Platoniſt, ſo he was Maſter to *Jamblichus* a noted Philoſopher of the ſame Sect. He was one of the learnedeſt Blaſphemers againſt Chriſtianity, therefore about thirty Catholick Authors writ againſt him, confuting his Blaſphemies.

Next to him was *Hierocles*, a Philoſopher of great Learning, who vilified the Principles of Chriſtianity, and bitterly inveigh'd againſt them and the Author of them in an *Oration* which he put forth. Then came *Julian* the Apoſtate, who, with ſome Shew of Wit, but with more Spight and Malice, brandiſhed

diſhed his Pen againſt the Chriſtian Religion. I might mention next *Libanius* the Sophiſt, an eminent *Pagan* Orator, and *Proclus* the Platoniſt, and *Priſcian* the Grammarian, and *Tribonian* the Lawyer (which two laſt flouriſhed in *Juſtinian*'s Time, about the Middle of the 6th Century) all learned Heathens, who were open Enemies and Oppoſers of Chriſtianity. *By Wiſdom they knew not God*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, 1 *Cor.* i. 21. Their Learning adminiſtred to their ſpiritual Darkneſs and Ignorance, as an Owl is blinded with Light. Some of the greateſt Wits have been *Atheiſts*, and ſome of the learnedeſt Churchmen *Hereticks*. Yea, the Devils are moſt *Knowing*, and thence they have their Name. And from them ſome Sort of *Wiſdom* is called *deviliſh*, Jam. iii. 15, as Children are called after their Parents Names. There is Reaſon then to conclude, that Knowledge and Learning can't be Man's *Happineſs*.

3. Learning may be *loſt*. We are told by a credible Author, that ſome Arts and Inventions, of which the Curious boaſted of old, are now decay'd and vaniſh'd. But if we ſpeak of Wit and Parts, of Memory and Judgement, whence the Arts have their Riſe, it is alſo evident that *they* may be loſt, and have actually been ſo by violent Diſtempers of Body. Thus *Thucydides* relates concerning the Plague at *Athens*, that thoſe who had it, were, upon their Recovery, puniſh'd with a perfect Oblivion of all Things which were done before their Diſtemper. *Meſſala Corvinus*, that excellent Orator, by Sickneſs, loſt the Memory of all Things, and even of his own Name. And not only by Diſeaſes, but by Age the like hath been effected: Thus *Georgius Trapezuntius* forgot all his Learning when he was old. And other Inſtances of Dotage, even in thoſe who had been Eminent

for

for their Skill in Arts and Sciences, are not hard to be found. This is another Proof of what I have been urging, that our *Happineſs* muſt not be placed in *humane Knowledge and Erudition*, for *true Happineſs* cannot be *loſt*, becauſe it is founded in a living Principle which cannot be extinguiſh'd; 'tis rooted in thoſe divine Endowments which can't be eradicated.

And then as to the other State, which is the longeſt and moſt permanent, and where our Happineſs is conſummated, there the greateſt Part of humane Learning ceaſes. There thoſe numerous Arts and Sciences which were ſo ſerviceable to us in this World, will be unneceſſary. Take it briefly in the Words of a great Man, ["The moſt of what we know, and "makes the moſt of all Men Great in their "own Conceits, is that which will be utterly "unuſeful after this Life. Of what Uſe will "thoſe Volumes of Learning concerning hu- "humane Laws, Phyſicks, the Mathematicks, "natural Philoſophy, the Knowledge of the "Contemplation of mixt Bodies be, when the "Earth, with the Works thereof, ſhall be "burnt up?"] So Judge *Hale*, in his *Diſcourſe of the Knowledge of God, and of our Selves.* And he might have ſaid the ſame of ſeveral other Parts of humane Erudition; they are calculated for this Life, but are of no Uſe in the other.

There are ſtill behind ſome *general Reflexions* on the Whole, and they are ſuch as theſe:

1. Do not ſtand gazing and wondering at the outward Blaze and ſeeming Glory of the World. I will not ſay with *Horace*, that to *admire* Nothing is the only Thing that can make and keep

keep us *happy*, yet this is certain, that thoſe are *unhappy* who addict themſelves to this Paſſion of Fools, namely, a cauſeleſs and fond Admiration of Things, eſpecially of the gay Vanities of this World, for hereby they are brought to an Affectation of them, and a great Concernedneſs for them, which proves very dangerous and hurtful. *Solomon* ſpeaks in this upbraiding Manner, *Wilt thou ſet thine Eyes upon that which is not?* Prov. xxiii. 5. *Wilt thou cauſe thine Eye to fly upon* (for ſo it is in the *Hebrew*) theſe vain Things, the Things *that make themſelves Wings and fly away*, as it follows in that Verſe? Wilt thou be exceedingly concerned for ſuch uncertain and tranſitory Enjoyments? Wilt thou be always looking upon the counterfeit Splendour of theſe earthly Poſſeſſions, and extravagantly admire Wealth, and Honour, and worldly Greatneſs, and Arts, and Inventions, many of which are uncertain and precarious? This doth not become rational and intelligent Perſons, who are oblig'd to look upon all theſe Things with a careleſs and neglectful Eye.

2. As we muſt not fix our Eyes, ſo not our Hearts on theſe Things, wherein our *Happineſs* conſiſts not. We ought not to be greedy and craving, and vehemently to long after them: For nothing calls for our eager Purſuit but that which conſtitutes our Happineſs, and that cannot be found in theſe inferior Goods: It is placed wholly in the chiefeſt and higheſt Good. Thence is the holy Man's Advice, *If Riches increaſe, ſet not your Heart upon them*, Pſal. lxii. 10. You are not permitted to do this, becauſe your *Happineſs* is not ſhut up in Things of this Nature: And, on the contrary, your *Unhappineſs* conſiſts not in Things of another Nature,

ture, namely, outward Crosses and Calamities. Thus the great Moralist speaks excellently: * *Whom do these Things* (saith he) *make unhappy? Such as are unmanly and effeminate, and have a very little Portion of Reason, such as are ill educated, and not at all exercised, such as retain the false Opinions which they suck'd in from their Childhood.* These are the Persons that think themselves unhappy if adverse and afflictive Things be their Lot; but wise and good Men have other Sentiments, and scorn to degrade themselves, and sink below the Rank and Dignity of rational Men, by setting their Hearts and Affections on mundane Enjoyments. Temporal Honours, Pleasures, and Riches, are such Things as have no intrinsick Worth in them, and they are such as many *Pagans* have cast away with a generous Disdain. And shall not a *Christian*, who is acted by higher Principles, arrive to this Selfdenial, especially when he knows how to make himself amends for all these Things, by the Enjoying of God? Which brings me to the

3*d* Inference, namely, That we ought to fix our Desires, and rest our Hearts on that which is divine and heavenly, that is, the Favour of God, Communion with Him, and Fruition of Him, which are attended with Forgiveness of Sins, Grace, and Holiness, and everlastiug Happiness. Let us mind the glorions Things of a future State, such are the main Concern of our Religion, and are solid and substantial, durable and incorruptible, and therefore deserve our utmost Passions. And if we had a discerning Spirit, we should see that those earthly Vanities

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* Τίνας ταῦτα κακοδαιμόνας ποιεῖ; τὺς ἀνάνδρυς καὶ ἀλογίστυς, τὺς ἀθρέπτυς καὶ ἀγυμνάστυς, τὺς ἐκ νηπίαν ἅς ἔχυσιν δόξας φυλάττοντας. Plutarch.

ties I have been ſpeaking of are a Foil to theſe eternal Glories, they ſerve to commend this bleſſed State to us, and to prepare us for it. Theſe changeable Goods are uſeful to lead us unto that which is immutable and immortal: They proving ſo tranſitory and unſatisfactory give us an Occaſion to ſearch after that which will yield our Souls true Reſt and Repoſe. After the Pſalmiſt, in moſt pathetick Words, hath ſet forth the Vanity of all created Beings, he adds this as a proper and natural Deduction, *Now Lord, what wait I for? My Hope is in thee,* Pſal. xxxix. 7. Where ſhould I fix this Anchor but in Thee? Where ſhould I place my Happineſs but in the ſupreme and chief Good? There is nothing here below that is worthy of my beſt Deſires and Affections, for all is vain and unſatisfactory. But though we converſe with ſo many Things of this Nature, yet there is *one Thing needful* and indiſpenſable. Though there be ſo much Uncertainty and Changeableneſs in all worldly Enjoyments, yet there is *that good Part which cannot be taken away from us,* Luk. x. 42. I was much pleaſed with that excellent Paſſage which I met with in the *Code,* * *There is nothing whatſoever that is ſo free from Caſualty as true Religion.* Whatever happens, we are ſafe and ſecure if we preſerve this. Whatever Damages we undergo, we can be no conſiderable Loſers if we part not with this.

Nay, we make both our worldly Loſſes and Gains ſerviceable to that Purpoſe which I am ſpeaking of. Which it is probable, is the Meaning of *Solomon,* Eccl. vii. 14. *God hath ſet the one* (i. e. Proſperity) *overagainſt the other* (i. e. Adverſity,)

* Nihil eſt quod ita nequeat Caſui ſubjacere quàm vera Religio. *Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 1. *Leg.* 4.

verſity,) *to the end that Man ſhould find nothing after him*; that is, that theſe Viciſſitudes ſhould conduct us to God, and that we ſhould find all in Him, and that after Him we ſhould find all to be Nothing, to have no real Satisfaction and Excellency in them. Let us by this Earth aſcend to Heaven, let us take Advantage from the Meanneſs and Lowneſs of theſe worldly Objects to climb to ſomething which is higher and nobler. Let us breath out our Wiſhes in the Language of that devout Soul, *O that I had the Wings of a Dove, that I might fly away, and be at reſt!* And as we are mounting thoſe happy Regions, let us look down, and deſpiſe this dark World under our Feet, and bid adieu to all its Follies and Vanities. We are to know that as *For the Empty, there are empty Things, ſo for the Full, there are full Things*, Eſdr. ii. 7. and if we are heartily deſirous of theſe latter, we ſhall certainly be bleſs'd with the Fruition of them. Let us then look up higher than this Spot of Earth. Let the great and laſting Concerns of another World be in our Eye. It will not be long before this preſent Scene of Things will have a Cloſe, before theſe Pageants ſhall be taken down; for we are told by an inſpir'd Writer, that though *the Creature be made ſubject to Vanity, yet it is ſubjected in Hope*, Rom. viii. 20. i. e. in hope of being free from this Vanity; it follows, *The Creature it ſelf ſhall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption*. Till that bleſſed Day arrives, let us bear with the mundane Vantiy; but let the Things of Eternity, which have no Mixture of it in them, engroſs our Thoughts, Wiſhes, and Affections.

4. Let our Practice be ſuitable to theſe our Deſires and affectionate Wiſhes. Let us ſeek firſt the Kingdom of God, and his Righteouſ-

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neſs; let us make Religion and Holineſs the principal Deſign and Buſineſs of our Lives. To this Purpoſe, it is obſervable that *Solomon*, after he had been diſcourſing freely of the Vanity of all ſublunary Goods, and diſplaying the Emptineſs of all worldly Enjoyments, ends his Book with an Exhortation to the *Practice of Religion*, eſpecially in two grand Inſtances of it, *viz. Charity* or *good Works* toward Men, which he admirably urges in the Beginning of the 11th Chapter; and *Piety towards God*, which he calls *Remembring our Creator in the Days of Youth*, and with great Eloquence ſets it forth in the 12th Chapter. He that had ſaid a little before, Chap. xi. 10. *Childhood and Youth are Vanity*, now acquaints us how we may, as it were, remedy the Vanity of theſe Years, *viz.* by an early Application of our ſelves to Religion and Holineſs: And by this we may beſt ſeaſon our Hearts and Lives afterwards, and ſecure them in great Meaſure from the ſinful Vanity which ſucceeding Years are liable to. This, this is the main Concern which we are to be ſollicitous about, and it is the Sum of all that is required of us. Wherefore he that began this Book with *All is Vanity*, ſhuts it up thus: *Let us hear the Concluſion of the whole Matter, Fear God and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole Duty of Man.*

I cannot diſmiſs theſe excellent Words without Commenting upon them, they being ſo fully expreſſive of this laſt Inference which I drew from the foregoing Diſcourſe. The *Fear of God*, may be conſidered here as an inward Principle, as the Spring of all virtuous and holy Actions: And in a large Senſe, it may be put for all religious Inclinations, and holy Diſpoſitions of the Soul. *Keeping the Commadments*, is

is the outward Effect and Mark of that inward Principle, and denotes all the viſible and external Acts of Religion. So that we ſee how great and extenſive a Thing this is which is here enjoin'd, no leſs than all the inward and outward Parts of Religion, the entire Holineſs both of Soul and Body. There are ſeveral ſuch ſhort Draughts, Summaries, and Abridgements in the holy Scriptures: Thus all Religion is reduced to three Heads, in *Zech.* viii. 16. Chriſt reduces all the Commandments to two, in *Mat.* xxii. 37. St. *Paul* compriſes all Chriſtianity in *Repentance* and *Faith*, Acts xx. 21. And here before us, all Religion is briefly ſumm'd up in theſe two, *Fearing God, and keeping his Commandments.*

I am to conſider in the next Place, the *Reaſon* wherewith this Injunction is enforced, *This is the whole Duty of Man.* But in the firſt Place, I muſt take notice, that the Word *Duty* is not in the original Text, though 'tis inſerted here in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation: But if we will exactly render it according to the *Hebrew*, it may be done either of theſe two Ways, (for the *Hebrew* admits of both of them) Firſt, *This is the whole Man*, or *all Man*; as if it had been ſaid, In this doth *Man*, as it were, conſiſt; without this he is no Man: He loſes all the Benefit of his Name and Nature. Whatever elſe is in him is vain and mean, or brutiſh and ſenſual: Whatever elſe in him that is contrary to this, is deviliſh. This therefore is All the Man. *Secondly*, We may read it, *This is the Whole*, or *All of Man.* And according to this Reading, there may be theſe three Meanings of it: 1. This is the whole *Duty* of Man. 2. This is the whole *End* of Man. 3. This is the whole *Happineſs* of Man.

1. I begin with the Word which our Tranſlators ſupply us with, This is the whole *Duty* of Man; that is, fearing God and keeping his Commandments are All that a Man ought to exerciſe himſelf about. Many think there is other Work to do, they buſy themſelves with Trifles, with Niceties, with unneceſſary Things. But the wiſe Man acquaints us, that, This is All we have to do, and there is enough of it, and there is no Time for any Thing elſe. It is true, we are to be employ'd in the Works of our ordinary Calling, and in the Affairs of the World, and neceſſary Buſineſs and Study, and this is our *Duty*. Yes, only ſo far as in theſe Works, and Affairs, and Studies, we fear God and keep his Commandments. For in every Thing we do, we muſt make Religion our Buſineſs. Beſides the immediate and direct Worſhip of God, there is a Serving him in ſecular Vocations and Employments, even in the Shop and the Exchange, in the Fields and in Husbandry, in the Camp and the Battle, on the Seas, and in maritime Affairs. In a Word, Religion is to be obſerved in all Stations, and in all Buſineſs. Whence it is manifeſt, that what is here enjoined by the wiſe Man, comprehends *All our Duty*.

2. This is the whole *End* of Man. And therefore thoſe Words of *Solomon*, *Let us hear the Concluſion of the whole Matter*, may rather be altered thus, according to the *Hebrew*, *Let us hear* * *the End of every Thing or Action*; that is, let us hear what is the univerſal *Scope*, *Aim* and *Deſign* that we were created for by God. Without doubt, he gave us rational Natures, that we might ſerve and worſhip him, that we

* Dabar hacol.

we might *fear him, and keep his Commandments*. And accordingly this is the whole Thing which we ought to propound to our ſelves in all our Reſearches and Studies, Enterprizes and Endeavours: Yea, in all our ſecular Affairs of this Life, we are to make this our End. For, as I ſuggeſted before, our worldly Buſineſs and Employments are to be mix'd with Religion and Godlineſs; and every Thing in our Lives is in order to theſe. It is plain then, that this is *the whole End of Man.*

3. This is the whole *Happineſs* of Man. By fearing God and keeping his Commandments, we are put into Poſſeſſion of that which makes us truly *bleſſed* both in this and another World. For *Godlineſs is profitable to all Things, having the Promiſe of this Life, and of that which is to come.* This conducts us to the Chief Good, the Fruition of GOD; this brings with it Joy and Comfort, and inward Satisfaction, and is alſo attended with the outward Bleſſings of Health, Peace, Honour, long Life, and Proſperity. In brief, there is no true *Happineſs* but in being Religious and Holy.

Thus we ſee how pregnant theſe Words of *Solomon* are; how they are abundantly Fraught with Arguments and Reaſons why we ſhould fear God and keep his Commandments, that is, why we ſhould be entirely good and virtuous. And this ſhews how ſeaſonable and proper it was to ſhut up the Book of *Eccleſiaſtes*, which treats of the Vanity of all mundane Enjoyments, with ſuch a Cloſe as this. *Solomon* was a great Experimenter of all Sorts of Things in the World, *Riches, Pleaſures, Honour*, &c. and even *Knowledge* and *Learning*, (the Things that I have been diſcourſing of,) but we hear, after all, what his deliberate Thoughts are, and what *Inference* he makes from ſuch Premiſes, namely, *Fear God*, &c. And this

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is the very Concluſion that I make from the preceeding Diſcourſe, and I call upon the Reader to be *moſt concerned* for That which is the *whole Duty, End,* and *Happineſs of Man.* Let us be excited from our Reflection on the common *Miſtakes about True Happineſs,* and from our Conviction of the World's *Vanity* and *Emptineſs,* (to ſay no worſe) to fix our Hearts on GOD, and the Things that relate to our eternal Felicity; in Imitation of the pious Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* cxix. 96. *I have ſeen an end of all Perfection,* (all worldly and earthly Perfection, which ſoon comes to an end,) *but thy Commandment is exceeding broad,* thy Word and thy Will are abſolutely perfect and compleat: And therefore by theſe we ought to regulate all our Actions, and to make it our chief Buſineſs to glorifie God by a holy Life, and by being ſincerely Religious. This is a weighty and momentous Work, this is of the greateſt Conſequence, and the higheſt Importance. In a Word, This is our *All,* this is *the Whole of Man.*

FINIS.